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CONTENTS

VOL. XIV

APRIL—JUNE, 1940.

PART II

	PAGE
The Concept of Keynote in the Taittiriya-Prātiśākhya— C. R. Sankaran	83
Preserve the Ancient Monuments—S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, M.A., L.T.	90
Jōlavāli, Vēlavāli and Leṅkavāli—Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D.	97
Tamil Syntax—A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar, M.A. ..	112
Bhavabhūti and Karuṇarasa—V. H. Subrahmanya Sastri ..	117
Vedic Studies: I. The Act of Truth—Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiah.	133
The Message of the Gītā—P. Nagaraja Rao, M.A. ..	166

THE CONCEPT OF KEYNOTE IN THE TAITTIRIYA-PRĀTISĀKHYA

BY

C. R. SANKARAN,
Poona.

(Continued from Page 73, Vol. XIV, Part 1.)

A large number of Indo-European languages carry a strong musical accent on the syllable following the chief tone whereby a word is differentiated from another. The difference between Serb. nom. *dūša* 'soul' and acc. *dūšū*, does not, however, merely consist in the fact that in the first case the tone rises and in the second case falls, but also on the fact that the second syllable in the first case is musically high, and in the second case is deep; and besides, their loudness is also different.

Similar is the case with Swedish where one differentiates between two accents. In the case of the second accent a musically higher tone lies on the last syllable.

This is musically higher than the accented radical syllable. H. Hirt says that the difference carries a Quint [A quint is equivalent to 13 śrutis (=702C.) *Vide*: Handbuch der Physik. Band VIII. Akustik. Kapitel 9. Musikalische Tonsysteme Von E. M. V. Hornbostel, Berlin 1927, page 437. This is a strict corroboration of the fact that if *udātta* is sung on the *Niṣādu* note, the *svarita* can be sung on the *madhyama* note. *see below*].

Also in Indian, there lies on the syllable after the tone an accent different from that having the tone, namely the *svarita* as against the *anudātta*. More things can be collected from other languages.¹

Besides the *Nebenton* is often also the tone on the syllable following the *chief-toned-syllable*; the Indians call it *svarita* and because it is quite systematically marked, it must have

1. Cp. H. Hirt, *Der Akzent*, Indogermanische Grammatik. Teil V. Heidelberg 1929, pages 12-13. But "the so-called *svarita* is a syllable accent in the Indian but has nothing to do with the Indo-Germanic." cf. H. Hirt, *loc. cit.*, page 187, Section 128.

been very clearly heard. This is not surprising because such a *svarita* is found even in languages spoken to-day.

So there is in German dialects such a *Nebenton* on the syllable following the chief-tone (*Hauptton*) for example *hess. mēm̃mē*. It is also to be assumed in the west Germanic languages, because here the short vowels *i* and *u* are retained after shorter chief-toned-syllable (*Haupttonsibbe*).

In Swedish many words have a peculiar tone on the last syllable.

Similarly in Serbian there is quite an important difference between Nom. *dŭsa* and Acc. *dŭsŭ* 'Soul'.

In the first case, the second syllable lies higher than the first syllable and it has also a somewhat noticeable loudness. Therefore the first syllable must have a rising tone, in order to reach the height of the second.

In the second case, the vowel of the second syllable lies deep, and its loudness is so small that the vowel in many cases gets completely lost. In any case the loss of the vowel brings about a kind of falling tone. (*Vide* H. Hirt, *Der Akzent*, page 19.)

"Of the two which come in a circumflex, the first note is higher in Greek." (*Vide*: Wackernagel. *Das Zeugnis der griech. Hymnen über den griech Akzent*, Rhein Mus 51, 304 ff. H. Hirt, *op. cit.*, page 33.)

The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* cites the discordant opinions of other authorities too. सर्वः प्रवण इत्येके (Taitt. Prāt. III, 47). "It is all a slide, say some."

आदिरस्योदात्तसमः शेषोऽनुदात्तसम इत्याचार्याः

(*ibid.* III, 46).

"The beginning is the same with acute; its remainder is the same with grave: so say the teachers." [Pāṇini seems to follow in his grammar only this latter school of thought. Hence is his sūtra समाहारः स्वरितः (P. I, 2, 31.)] (*Vide also* Benfey, *Kurze Sanskrit Grammatik*, p. 6, Section 30, 4).

"The single syllable into which the higher and lower tones are combined still retains the double pitch belonging to its constituent parts in what is technically called the *Kṣaipra* variety of *svarita*, for example, *vi* and *evá* are combined into *vyevá*.

In the *abhinihita* (or by Taitt. Prāt., *abhinihata*) variety of *svarita* too, the acute and grave tones of the constituent elements are both represented in the syllable that results from their combination, as for example *só abravīt* becomes *sò abravīt*. [*Vide* Whitney, On the Nature and Designation of the Accent in Sanskrit, pages 16-27. Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869-'70.]

"The circumflex in Greek *περισπωμένη* is a combined tone." [*Vide* H. Hirt, Der Akzent, page 37.]

Porphyrios expressly says that the circumflex is combined out of acute and grave. [*Vide*: Anecdota Graeca. Vol. II, page 757, lines 15-17. Dion. Thrac., 705, 26.]

According to Misteli and Hadley, enclitic *svarita* is "middle tone". [*Vide* Misteli's article über die accentuation des griechischen in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vol. XVII, pages 81-134. 161-194 and Volume XIX, pages 81-103. *See also* Berichtigung (zur accentlehre) by Franz Misteli in Volume XXI of Kuhn's Zeitschrift, pages 16-17. *Cf.* Hadley, On the Nature and Theory of the Greek Accent in Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869-70, page 11.] G. Curtius, reviewing Bopp's Accentuation system in Jahn's jahr-bücher (1855, Vol. 71), expresses the opinion that the grave accent, where it forms the second part of the circumflex, represents not the ordinary low tone of the word, but an intermediate tone in Greek. For further references on the theory of middle tone in Greek, *see* Hadley's article in Transactions of American Philological Association, 1869-70, pages 9 and 10. *Compare also* Ascoli (Corsi di Glottologia etc. first part, Comparative Phonology of the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin 1877, page 15.)

Whitney says the following on this subject:—

"This seems to mean that the voice, which is borne up at the higher pitch to the end of the acute syllable, does not ordinarily drop to grave pitch by an instantaneous movement, but descends by a more or less perceptible slide in the course of the following syllable. No Hindu authority suggests the theory of a middle or intermediate tone for the enclitic, any more than for the independent circumflex. For the most part, the two are

identical with one another in treatment and designation' [Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, Fourth edition, Section 85.]

"Whitney's opinion with regard to the enclitic *svarita*, while it denies it the name of middle tone, does, we can see, nevertheless support a kind of tone which does not lie very far removed in its nature from that middle tone in favour of which Misteli and Hadley argue" [*Vide*: Historical and Critical Remarks. Introductory to a study of Greek Accent by Maurice Bloomfield. American Journal of Philology. Volume IV. (1883), page 45.]

M. Seshagiri Sastri was also inclined to favour the view that the *svarita* occupies a somewhat middling position [*Vide* A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Volume I, Vedic Literature. First Part 1901, pages 4 and 75. See also Brugmann, Grundriss English Translation. Volume I, Section 673, page 539.]

Although it may be true that in the pre-vedic period, the enclitic *svarita* might have been a middle tone, it must be certain that in the historical period its nature must be as described by the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* III. 4 (already quoted), for this latter tradition alone is kept up now among *Śrautis*.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in distinction to Pāṇini and *Śākala Śākhā Samhitā* of the *Ṛg-Veda*, the Kāśmīr MSS. of the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda* and the grammarian Kātyāyana distinguish the independent *svarita* sharply from the *svarita* which followed an *udātta* syllable. [*Vide* R. L. Turner: "The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāṭhi" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1916, page 206.]

It is curious indeed that in a *sūtra* of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, we find some authorities denying *in toto* the enclitic circumflex. सर्वो नेत्येके (Taitt. Prāt. XIV, 33.)

Neither the *Atharva-Veda Prātiśākhya*, nor the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā Prātiśākhya* gives such a definition of the circumflex; and yet as Whitney says, the theory of the *pracaya* accent so manifestly recognizes and implies it that one cannot believe otherwise than that its statement is omitted by them although it really forms part of their system. If the voice has already, in the utterance of the enclitic *svarita*, sunk to the actual grave

pitch, it can scarcely be believed that it should be called upon to rise again to the level of acute for the utterance of the following unaccented syllables: while, on the other hand, if the circumflex be bodily removed to a higher plane in the scale, and made to end at acute pitch, the following grave syllables might be naturally enough supposed to run at the same level.¹

To distinguish the actual acute occurring after the grave syllables succeeding a circumflex (which are also uttered at acute pitch) provision seems to have been made for, in the recognition of *anudāttatara* (cf. स्वरितोदात्ते अनन्तरं अनुदात्तम्. *Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya*, iii, 74. "But the syllable immediately preceding a circumflex or acute is grave".)

In the XV chapter of the *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya*, there is the citation of the opinions of various authorities as to the mode of utterance of the sacred syllable *Om*. The third sūtra in this chapter reads as follows:—

धृतप्रचयः कौण्डिन्यस्य²

The following is Whitney's translation of this sūtra. "According to Kauṇḍinya, it is a sustained *pracaya*."³ But Whitney does not make himself sure whether it might have been better to follow the lead of Somayārya (the author of the

1. *Vide* the note under the *Atharva-Veda-Prātiśākhya*, iii, 65, Whitney's edition.

2. Another reading is धृतः प्रचयः कौण्डिन्यस्य *Vide* Mysore edition of the *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya* Bibliotheca Sanskrita No. 33, page 451. Cf. *Die Vyāsa Śikṣā* besonders in ihrem Verhältnis Zum *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* Von Dr. Heinrich Lüders, Von der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Göttingen gekrönte Preisschrift (1895), page 84.

3. I am indebted to my revered Professor M. M. Kuppswami Śāstrigal for suggesting to me a more happy and an appropriate equivalent '*constant*' to the Sanskrit term '*dhṛta*' for in the scheme of Sāman music *dhṛta* is the name given to the *basic svara* or the *tonic note*, the other *svaras*—*kruṣṭa*, *prathama* and *dvitīya* on the one side and *caturtha*, *mandra* and *atisvārya* on the other side being variations of the *utkṣepa* (=ascending) and *apakṣepa* (=descending) type. See below. Maxmuller in his edition of the *Rk-Prātiśākhya* (page cclxxiii) calls प्रचय "Mittlere Haltung."

commentary *Tribhāṣyaratna* on the *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya*) who treats *dhṛta-pracaya* as being equivalent to the simple *pracaya*.¹

The commentator, as Whitney points out, meets the objection that in XIX, 2. (प्रचयपूर्वश्च कौण्डिन्यस्य) the use of the term

1. That the word *dhṛta*, by itself, is taken to be a synonym of *pracaya* appears from the following verses said to occur in the *Vyāsa Sikṣā*:—

प्रचयश्च बुधः प्रोक्त उदात्तश्रुतिरित्यपि ।

स्वारः शीर्षे मुखेऽप्युच्च प्रचयो निहतो हृदि ॥

[नीचोच्चस्वारधृताश्चैव विशेषाः प्रजापतौ ॥]

(Note that the metre is defective in the two pādas of the second stanza.) For the first stanza quoted here. *Vide Vyāsa-Sikṣā. Svaradharmā Smṛitā Prakaraṇam* edited by Venkatarāma Sharma, Madras University Journal, Volume II, Supplement, Stanza 148, page 16. The second stanza is not found in this edition of *Vyāsa Sikṣā*. But in *Hatasvaravinyāsa Prakaraṇam* of that edition, we find the following:—

नीचस्वारधृतोदात्तानङ्गुष्ठग्रेण निर्दिशेत् ॥

(Verse 164, page 18).

“This passage (as Kielhorn says) shows that the reading of the *Pāṇiniya Sikṣā* V, 43,

उदात्तमाख्याति वृषोऽङ्गुलीनां प्रदेशिनीमूलनिविष्टमूर्धा ।

उपान्तमध्ये स्वरितं धृतं च कनिष्ठिकायामनुदात्तमेव ॥

धृतं च, ought not to have been altered to धृतश्च, and that the word उपान्तमध्य should have been translated by ‘the ring and the middle fingers’. (Indische Studien, Volume IV, page 365.) The following verses of *Bharatabhāṣya* called *Sarasvatīhrdayabhāṣaṇa* (Paper manuscript deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona). A transcript of this is available in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library from which alone I am quoting here) [See chapter II (towards the end in शिक्षाध्याय) page 18], the author of which professes to have studied the *sikṣās* of *Pāṇini*, *Nārada* and *Āpaśali*, are evidently based on the verse of the *Pāṇiniya Sikṣā* referred to in the above:—

अङ्गुष्ठस्य मुखाग्रेण तर्जनीमूलसारणात् ।

उदात्तः स स्वरो नाम वेदविद्भिर्रुदाहृतः ॥

कनिष्ठामूलसंस्पर्शादनुदात्त इति स्मृतः ।

स्वरितोऽनामिकामूलसंस्पर्शाद्यः स्वरो भवेत् ॥

मध्यमामूलतो विद्यात् प्रचितं स्पर्शनादपि ॥

Vide: Remarks on the *Sikṣās* by Dr. Kielhorn. Indian Antiquary, Volume V, page 143, footnote.

प्रचय itself is attributed to this same Kauṇḍinya, and that hence it should have been used here also. Somayārya answers the objection as follows:—

“On the principle that even where there is no difference of meaning there may be a difference of application, the teacher exhibits a nicety of application: other examples of the principle are the *namas* of Bhīmasena and Bhīma, Satyā and Satya-bhāma, *pidhānam* and *apidhānam*, *dīpa* and *pradīpa*. So by this pair of words *dhr̥ta* and *pracaya* even an appellation is given”.

[ननु—‘प्रचयपूर्वश्च कौण्डिन्यस्य’ (XIX, 2.) इतिवत् प्रचय इत्येतावतैवालम् । किं धृतशब्देन ? मैवम् । पदद्वयेनाप्यनेन नामधेयमेव अभिधीयते । तथा हि—

अर्थभेदाभावेऽपि प्रयोगभेदोऽस्तीति प्रयोगचातुर्यमाचार्यः प्रकटयति । यथा—भीमसेनो भीमः, सत्यभामा सत्या, पिधानम् अपिधानम्, दीपः प्रदीप इत्यादि ।

Mysore edition, page 451.]

The *pracaya* is defined as the fourth accent (चतुर्थः स्वरो ‘धृतप्रचयः’ इति कथ्यते, page 452, Mysore edition). We have already seen how it is explained in the twenty-first chapter (XXI, 10); it is there said to be of the same tone as *udātta*; ‘acute’; so that unless *dhr̥ta* is to be regarded as signifying a modification, one does not see in what respect *Kauṇḍinya*’s opinion differs from that of *Vālmiki*, given in rule 6 of the XVIII chapter.¹

1. उदात्तो वा वाल्मीकिः. At one stage, our ancients must have keenly felt conscious of the labouring struggle to reach or touch occasionally the fourth *svara* from the original three notes. (*Vide* M. S. Ramaswami Iyer’s Introduction to *Svaramela Kalānidhi* p. lxviii). When this consciousness was not wide awake, the theorists could not but bring ‘प्रचय’ under उदात्त, for as Fox Strangways says (*Vide* Music of Hindostan, p. 248), if in a chant of only three notes, प्रचय is to be distinguished from *anudātta*, it could not well have any other place. It is curious but interesting to note that the author of the *Nārada Śikṣā*, in one place rejects the view that प्रचय is the fourth *svara*.

य एव उदात्त इत्युक्तः स एव स्वरित्वात्परः ।

प्रचयः प्रोन्यते तज्ज्ञैः न चात्रान्यस्त्वरान्तरम् ॥

Nārada Śikṣā, I. VIII, Verse 2,

PRESERVE THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS

BY

S. R. BALASUBHRMANYAN, M.A., L.T.,

Chidambaram.

I. THE ROLE OF THE TEMPLE.

The temple in the past played many parts and had many attractions to the people. Though it was chiefly a place of public worship, it was also a centre of varied social activity—a beehive of communal enterprise. It was a centre of learning. Colleges and schools were conducted, and Vedas, Purāṇas and religious hymns were expounded therein. Libraries called *Sarasvatī Bhāṇḍāram* were located in it. Hospitals were, in some cases, attached to it. Music—vocal and instrumental—was practised therein. The people displayed their artistic skill in temple architecture. While most of the secular buildings of the past have perished, religious monuments have miraculously survived. Sculpture and painting were mostly confined to religious subjects and the temple was thus truly a museum of ancient art. The temple managed public trusts by controlling gifts of lands and money endowments made to it. It lent its surplus funds to people in times of distress and in return arranged for religious services to the deities. Above all it was a public record office. This is how it is historically of incalculable value. The royal orders, the grants and decisions of public bodies like the village assembly (Ūr or Sabhā), the merchant guilds (Nagaram), Provincial assemblies (The Nāḍu) and the gifts of private individuals were all recorded and engraved on temple walls. The original documents were generally on cadjan leaves or copper plates and these leaves or copper plates were deposited for the sake of safe custody in the temple treasury—the *Bhāṇḍāram*. While most of these original documents have perished in the various revolutions that have taken place, the temple walls have wonderfully preserved what were merely the copies of the originals; and great is the value of these records to the historian.

II. PRASASTIS AND THEIR VALUE.

It has been said that India has no recorded history. This is only true in a very limited sense—namely that there are very few professedly historical works, like the *Rājatarāṅgaṇī* or the *Harṣacarita*. But almost all ancient Hindu kings had maintained elaborate records of every important public transaction. Yuan Chwang the Chinese pilgrim has recorded (7th century A.D.) how in Harṣa's kingdom official records of all events were kept up in each province by special officers. This is no isolated phenomenon. Indian inscriptions—chiefly South Indian—reveal the existence of an active and able body of bureaucracy which had been carrying on in an efficient manner the work of the maintenance and preservation of all public transactions of the land like the charitable grants, revenue collections, remission of land revenue, land survey, dealings between central and local bodies, etc.

But in one respect South Indian inscriptions are unique. While only a few *Praśastis* (records of praiseworthy deeds of kings) are available about the kings of Northern India like the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, every inscription of South India from about the 10th century onwards is a chapter of South Indian History. Every public transaction is recorded on the walls of the temple in whose neighbourhood the endowed property was situated or where the assembly met for making the grant or carrying out the transaction.

Sometimes when a gift in one village is made to a temple in another village, or when the transaction relates to more than one temple or village, it is recorded in more than one place. In very many cases full astronomical details of the day of the transaction are furnished which enables us to find out their exact equivalents in modern Christian era with the help of the *Ephemeris*. Every transaction is recorded to have taken place in a particular regnal year of a king. Before his name we have a long historical introduction generally in verse, which recounts all the important achievements of the reign. The *Praśasti* (in Tamil it is called *Meykkīrtti*) grows in length along with the passage of time and the progress of events in his reign. The *Praśasti* of one is different from that of another. The introductory part of this historical introduction varies from king to king. The *Praśasti* of Rājarāja I begins with the formula "Tirumakaḷ pōla" and that of his son Rājendra I

"Tisumanni Valara", so that by a perusal of the beginning of the historical introduction, we can declare at once the name of the king to whom it belongs. It is this part of the inscription that is of the utmost value to the historian.

Thus it will be clear that every temple was a public record office and every epigraph a page of history of the land and it is amazing how much of recorded history there is in South Indian temples.

III. SCIENTIFIC RENOVATION.

The old stone structural temples of the Pallavas and Early Colas—Hindu, Jain or Buddhist—were massive structures strongly built, and they could stand many centuries. There was ample and systematic provision in the past for their careful preservation and maintenance in good repair. If on account of neglect or old age any monument needed repair, it could be reconstructed with the old materials without the addition of a single stone. The Dutch archaeologists of Java employed this method of scientific renovation in the case of the renowned Buddhist monument of Borobudur and the Hindu-Javanese monuments of the Dutch East Indies. The example of the Dutch was followed by the French archaeologists of Indo-China and in 1930 M. Marchal was deputed to Java in order to acquaint himself with the methods followed by the Dutch Archaeological Survey. Here is a description of the method adopted by M. Marchal who tried his newly learnt art in the case of the temple of Banteay Srei. "It was in a ruined condition, but practically all the stones were in existence around the foot of the building. Among the three towers forming the central group the one to the south was the first to be attacked. Marchal began by making an accurate survey comprising drawings and photographs. Then he reconstructed on the ground, the upper storeys which had collapsed long ago. This part of the work having been accomplished, he proceeded to demolish the portions of the structure still standing, carefully assorting and numbering each separate stone. Then, after having strengthened the foundations by means of a layer of concrete, he rebuilt the successive storeys of the tower one after the other." Such is the care and reverence for the monuments of the past and such is the method of scientific renovation followed by enlightened people who value historic relics. It is

with pleasure that I record here that this wise method of renovation has been followed by my friend Mr. K. V. Raju, former Curator of the Pudukotah museum—(by himself and without any inspiration from the practice of Dutch and French Archaeologists)—in repairing the valuable temples of the Pudukotah State. The Subrahmanya temple at Kannanur, the Vijayālaya Coliśvaram at Nārttāmalai, and the Mūvarkoil shrines at Koḍumbālūr have been thus scientifically treated. But look at the ruthless and wanton destruction going on in our midst in British India.

IV. TEMPLE VANDALISM—(*a few historic cases*).

I shall cite a few famous cases of wilful destruction of our ancient monuments. The Buddhist Stūpa at Amarāvati was built of marble by the Andhra Kings in the 2nd century A. D. In the 18th century (1797) a petty local Rājā razed this marble monument to the ground and used parts thereof as building material. The sculptured panels and pillars were demolished and even partly burnt to lime. Seven pieces of this Stūpa are kept in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and 160 pieces were sent to the British Museum. In 1831 T. Burgess examined the site and collected 400 pieces more and they are now preserved in the Madras Museum.

Let me take another instance, that of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Colapuram—the creation of Rājendra Cola I as the new Cola capital in commemoration of his victory of the region as far as the Ganges. In his new capital he also built a temple on the model of that built by his illustrious father at Tanjore. Here is the account which appeared in a local publication of 1855. “Speaking of the noble temple of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Colapuram, it must not be omitted that when the lower Colerun *anikat* was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures, which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their best to prevent this destruction and spoilation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a government that could show no title to it, but, of course, without success; *they were only punished for contempt*. A promise was made indeed that a wall of brick should be built in the place of the stone wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed.” What a commentary on the ignorance and

arrogance of those engineers! Fortunately, the main temple was not touched.

The temple of Tiruviḍaimarudūr in the Tanjore District is a place of great antiquity. It had nearly 151 inscriptions on its walls and on those of the maṇḍapas close to the shrine. They related to the kings of many dynasties—Cola, Pāṇḍya, later Pallava and Vijayanagar, ranging over a period of nearly 700 years.* This temple has undergone renovation and most of these valuable records have been lost for ever. It is the same sad tale whenever a modern renovation of an ancient temple takes place.

A temple that is threatened with a similar fate in the near future is that at Tiruvaivāru (Trivadi) in the Tanjore District. The Viṣṇu temple in this locality has been completely re-constructed. Next will be the turn, I understand, of the Śaivite shrines in the place. There are two shrines in this compound. The older is called the Dakṣiṇa Kailāsa and perhaps it was

* Dynasty.	No. of inscriptions.	King's name.	Regnal years ranging from
Cola	24	Parakesarivarman	2—16 years
	9	Rājakesarivarman	3—17 "
	33	Parāntaka I	7—38 "
	8	Parakesarivarman (who took the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya)	4—14 "
	1	Uttamacola	13th year
	6	Rājarāja I	2—16 years
	4	Rājendracola I	3—20 "
	1	Rājādhirāja I	32nd year
	9	Kulottuṅga I	4—49 years
	29	Vikramacola	3—10 "
	1	Kulottuṅga II	8th year
	4	Kulottuṅga III	12—28 years
	3	Rājarāja III	2—27 "
Later Pallava	1	Kopperuñciṅka	18th year
Pāṇḍya	1	Vikrama Pāṇḍya	3rd year
Vijayanagar	1	Acyuta deva Rāya	Śaka 1456
	1	Sadāśiva Rāya	A. D. 1534
	1		Śaka 1466
	15	Miscellaneous	A. D. 1544

one built in the days of Āditya (acc. 871 A. D.). It contains many inscriptions of early Coḷa, Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar rulers. The other is the foundation of a Coḷa queen of Rāja Rāja I called Lokamahādevī who lavished many costly gifts of jewels and ornaments and made innumerable endowments for the up-keep of various temple-services.

V. EFFORTS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

In the year 1935, the Archaeological department of India issued a very important communique on the subject of "Preservation of Ancient Monuments". They pointed out that Southern India has "a rich heritage in its large number of temples, remarkable alike for their size and the wealth of sculptural and epigraphical material", that "the importance of the inscriptions which are veritable mines of information regarding the life and times of the princes and peoples in the past ages cannot be exaggerated, that well-informed public opinion should range itself on the side of those who are making efforts to preserve these priceless materials for posterity". At the same time they condemned the baneful practice of white-washing the walls which resulted in considerable damage to sculptures and inscriptions, and the indiscriminate burning of lamps on sculptures, pillars, panes and inscribed slabs and the practice of modern renovators—chiefly the Nagarattār community—of chiselling out old inscriptions on stones and using them as ordinary building material without regard to the records and carvings found on them.

There is also need for greater co-ordination between the departments of Epigraphy and Archaeology so that we may derive the fullest benefit by their collaboration. Is there not a case even for unification of these two departments under a single officer?

VI. OUR DUTY TO PRESERVE THIS RICH HERITAGE.

A renovated temple can boast of a new structure but not an architecture. The historical association, the epigraphs and works of art of the past have a charm of their own. It must be our duty to preserve as far as possible the ancient character of our old temples. In case the temple renovation is indispensable, it should be done on scientific lines as indicated above. If not, careful plans and diagrams have to be prepared, photographs taken of these old shrines before destruction of each

part. All the inscriptions have to be copied fully. Then the stones of each wall should be numbered and after careful dismantling should be reassembled in a part of the wide quadrangle of the temple under the guidance of Archaeological officers, so that they may be a source of inspiration to future generations and an object of additional attraction to the temple. The cost of these inscribed stones as building material is insignificant to a charitably minded benefactor, who, at considerable cost, renovates a temple, but their value from an historical, archæological or aesthetic point of view is considerable.

The Archæological department has rightly emphasised the need for a well-informed public opinion to range itself on the side of those who strive for the preservation of these monuments; secondly, on the good sense and cultural conscience of renovators; and thirdly, on the timely help that may be rendered by Hindu Religious Endowments Board.

India is a vast country. Her monuments are many. Workers are few and their voice is feeble. The cultural conscience of the people has not yet been stirred. The monuments are being demolished in hundreds every year, without our knowledge or even a protest from the public. Let the department and the public concentrate all their attention on one monument and save it. If we succeed in one place we shall succeed in others. Tiruvaiyāru offers such an opportunity. Will the public rise equal to the occasion? The Hindu Religious Endowments Board has no greater cause or nobler end to serve, or more sacred duty to discharge, than this. The Collector of the district has vast powers and personal influence. He can by persuasion try to save the monuments in his jurisdiction from the ravages of an ignorant renovator who in the name of religion and piety unwittingly destroys what the iconoclast has spared. If we do not save them now, they are lost for ever and the future awakened India will blame us for our neglect and we shall have to take upon ourselves the full share of the blame for our failure to preserve them for posterity. If we fail, the labours of Cunningham, the first Archæologist of India and Lord Curzon, who, by an act, laid the foundation for the preservation of our ancient monuments, would have been in vain and the hand of the clock of progress would be reversed by about a hundred years.

JĪLAVALĪ. VĒLAVALĪ AND LEŅKAVALĪ

BY

DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D.,

University of Madras.

The terms *jōlavāli*, *vēlavāli* and *leṅkavāli* which are occasionally met with in the inscriptions as well as literary works in Telugu and Kannaḍa, are obscure in origin and uncertain in meaning. The first two terms occur coupled together in an inscription of 1216 A.D.¹ and in some of the works of the Telugu Viraśaiva divine, Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha, who flourished at Warangal in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D.;² and the last is found in some inscriptions of Mysore belonging to the middle of the thirteenth century.³ The meaning of these terms is far from clear and opinion is naturally divergent as to its origin and exact significance.

The suffix *-vāli* which is common to all the three terms may be first taken up for consideration. Some believe that it denotes a tract of territory, and that consequently the terms should be considered as the names of countries.⁴ No doubt, the word *-vāli*, an equivalent of *vāḍi* or *pāḍi*, means 'a country, a settlement, etc.', as, for instance, in Perumbāṇappāḍi, Gaṅgavāḍi, Honnavāḍi, Nolaṃbavāḍi, Raṭṭappāḍi, Vallabhappāḍi, etc. Jōlavāli and Leṅkavāli on the analogy of these terms may certainly be taken to denote the country of the Cōḷas and the Leṅkas respectively; but the inapplicability of this interpretation to Vēla-vāli,—for no people of the name of Vēla is known to have existed at any time in the past—coupled with the occurrence of Jōla-vāli in places where it is impossible to take it as the name of a country, bring out clearly its inadequacy to explain

1. E. C. VIII, Sr. 125.

2. *Paṇḍitārādhya-caritra* (Andhrapatrika edn.) Part II, p. 185; *Basavapurāṇam*. P. 195.

3. E. C. IV, Kr. 9.

4. Rice cited by Narasimhacharya: *Karnātakavīcarite*, Vol. I, P. 31, n. 1.

K. V. Lakshmana Row: *Sivatattvasādhana* (Andhra Academy Publications, No. 13), Intro. p. 19, n.

the real significance of the terms under consideration in a satisfactory manner.

Vāli is, in fact, identical with the Kannaḍa *pāli* and the Telugu *pāḍi* meaning 'rule, order, law or obligation.' The poet Ranna, for instance, speaks of warriors who having deserted their master died without fulfilling their *vāli* to him.¹ Bandhuvārman a poet of the early 13th century substitutes the expression *Jōlaḍaṇṇam* for '*Jōlada-vāli*' suggesting thereby that *-ṇṇam* and *vāli* are synonymous terms.² Similarly Nanni Chōḍadēva in his Telugu *Kumārasambhavam* refers to *jonnalu-gonna-ṇṇam* or the *ṇṇam* arising from the acceptance of *jonnalu* that is *jōla* or the Indian millet.³ It is obvious, therefore, that *vāli* like its equivalent *ṇṇam* means 'an obligation or debt'; and consequently the term *jōla-vāli*, *vēla-vāli* and *leṇka-vāli* seem to denote certain kinds of 'obligations', the nature of which has not yet been clearly ascertained.

I

Jōla-vāli:—Assuming that the interpretation of the suffix *-vāli* suggested above is correct, *jōla-vāli* or *jōlada-vāli*, as it was more commonly known, should mean the obligation of the *jōla*. The early Kannaḍa classics throw incidentally some light on certain interesting features of *jōla-vāli*. According to the poet, Cāṭu Viṭṭhalanātha, the king is said to have admitted people, whom he took into his service, to '*jōla-vāli*'. In the *Dhruvacaritra* of his Kannaḍa *Bhāgavata*, Queen Suruci on seeing her step-son Dhruva seated in the lap of her husband, Uttānapāda, is described as having exclaimed indignantly—"thou art not worthy to sit there; serve the feet of my son Uttama; he will provide thee with *jōla-vāli*."⁴ The people who

1. *Gadāyuddha*, 5: 10.

Jōla-vāliyam-neṇapad=āḷdana-kajjam-anokku sattaram.

2. *Nēmināthapurāṇam* (Madras University Kannada Series, No. 6), p. 232.

3. *Kumārasambhavam*, 11: 240.

4. *Ōlagipud*=Uttamana-padavanu
Koḍuvanu jōlavāliya nenute bhaṅgisi
Jaḍidu-nūkidaḷ-ad-ihike-garvadali.

I am obliged to Mr. H. Sesha Aiyangar, Junior Lecturer in Kannaḍa, University of Madras, for this as well as the other Kannaḍa texts and references cited in this paper.

were thus admitted into the king's service were provided by him with the means of subsistence. Bandhuvarman refers to men-at-arms serving a lord as *jōlam-gonḍavar* or 'people who accepted their salary in *jōlam*'. He also describes the ideal hero as one who enters a great battle, and making use of the skill acquired in the gymnasium, fights with the enemy so as to proclaim the debt incurred by him by eating the *jōlam* (of his master).¹ This is corroborated by the evidence of Nanni Cōḍa-dēva's *Kumārasambhavam* in which a soldier, who was about to join a battle, declares his intention to fight with the enemy and discharge the debt incurred by him by taking the *jonnaḷu* (*jōḷa*, *chōḷam*) from his master.²

The lord expected his dependants who had received *chōḷam* from him to fight his battles; and failure on their part to discharge their obligation was regarded as a dereliction of duty. That much is implied in Duryōdhana's complaint against Drauṇi and Drōṇa in Ranna's *Gadāyuddha*.³

"Could it not have been possible for Drauṇi", cries Duryōdhana, "to defeat the enemy unaided? He is an incarnation of Rudra, and has even an (additional) eye in his forehead. Placing faith in him and his father I gave them sustenance and nourished them. Have they placed the arrow on the bow-string? No, they cast away, on the contrary, their weapons. Drauṇi and Drōṇa did not even pay regard to their *jōḷada-vāḷi*."³

1. *Nēmināthapurāṇam*, p. 285.

Jōlam-gomḍavar-ellar

Mēlam-gomḍare tegaḷtu . . .

Ibid. p. 232,

Negaḷvinam-uṇḍa jōḷada-ṛṇam śramamaṇ-kalayal
-mahārāṇakk
agiyaḍe pokku taḷṭ-iṛiva sad-bhaṭanum kali

2. *Kumārasambhavam*, II: 612 (Ramakrishna Kavi's edn.).

Munum iḍi vāḥinula muṭṭi paḍal vaḍa vrēsi . . .
. jonnaḷu-gonna ṛṇambu nīgudun.

3. *Gadāyuddha*, 2: 11.

Asuḥṛit-sēnaga sālvan-ōrvane gaḍam ! Rudr-āvatāram
gaḍam
Nosalōḷ-kaṇ-gaḍam-eṇḍu nacci poredam tānakke
tamm-amma-ana

Pampa states explicitly that urged by considerations of *jōḷaḷa-vāḷi*, he engaged his master's enemies in battle and put them to flight.¹

Kumāra Vyāsa believes that it is an act of merit to give one's head in exchange for *jōḷa-vāḷi* of the lord, who fostered one by offering nourishment.²

The evidence of the Kannaḍa writers thus leaves no room for doubt as to the denotation of the term *jōḷa-vāḷi* and *jōḷada-vāḷi*. It is clear that they are not the names of a country; but they appear to have been terms commonly in use in ancient Karṇāṭa to denote an obligation, probably military in character, owed to a lord by his dependants. The lord provided his men with the means of subsistence expressed in terms of *jōḷam*, the staple grain of those days, and they repaid his debt by fighting his battles.

II

The meaning of *Vēḷā-vāḷi* is more difficult to trace.³ The solution of the problem depends upon a clear understanding of the true significance of *vēḷa*, the first member of the

kk-isal-aṁbaṁ tiruvāyge taṁd-aṟivarē tāv-iṟvaruṁ-

kaiduvam

Bisaṭṭur *JŌḶADA-VĀḶIYAM* bagedud-illā Draṇṇiyuṁ
Drōṇanuṁ.

1. *Bhāratam*, 14: 50.

Kavite negaḷtayaṁ nirise jōḷadapāḷi nij-ādhināthan-ā-
Havodoḷ-arāti-nāyakara paṭṭ-ane pāṟisi samda-pempu.

2. *Bhāratam*,

Salahid-oḍayane jōḷavāḷige
Taleya māṟuvad-ondū puṇya.

3. The term occurs coupled with *jōḷa-vāḷi* in the Telugu *Paṇḍitārādhya-caritram* and *Basava-purāṇam*; and some of the leading Telugu scholars have commented on it. The late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Row identifies *vēḷa* with *kāla* and the latter with Yama (*Sivatattvasāram*, Andhra Sahitya Parishat Publications, No. 13, Intro. p. 18, n.). Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri takes it to mean the performance of prescribed rites throughout one's lifetime (*Basava-purāṇam*—Andhrapatrika edn., Intro. p. 114). Dr. Ch. Narayana Rao accepts Mr. Prabhakara Sastri's interpretation tentatively, but keeps an open mind on the matter (*Paṇḍitārādhya-caritram*, Andhrapatrika edn., Intro. p. 266).

term. A clue which may lead to a correct interpretation of *vēla-vāli* is found in an epigraph from Nādamanchasāle in the Sagar taluka of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. A certain Kavaḍaya Bimma, one of the servants of Kumāra-Mahārāya Bāḷeya-Verggeḍe, the Mahāpradhāna of Jagadēva Pāṇḍyarasa of Poṭṭipombuchcha is said to have accompanied his master during a raid into Jiḍuvalige-nāḍu and having made his *jōla-vāli* and *vēla-vāli* manifest in an engagement with the enemy, died on the field of battle.¹ It is obvious that *vēla-vāli*, like *jōla-vāli* with which it is coupled, is also an obligation involving military service. Those who owed *vēla-vāli* had to discharge their obligation by fighting their master's battles.

The nature of *vēla-vāli* and the obligations arising therefrom are made clear by an examination of *Vēlaiikkāraṇ*, another Tamil term of uncertain origin, with which it seems to be etymologically connected. Judging from the scanty information furnished by the inscriptions, the *Vēlaiikkāras*, like the men bound by *vēla-vāli*, were men-at-arms who attached themselves to some king or chief and fought his battles. They were constituted into a number of *paḍais* or battalions by the Coḷa monarchs, whom they served with devotion.² The exact significance of the term *Vēlaiikkāraṇ* and the nature of his relationship to his master are not definitely known. Several attempts have been made to interpret the term, but no satisfactory solution has yet been found, owing to a fundamental error: the term *vēlai* of which *vēlaiikkāraṇ* is a derivative, has generally been taken to mean 'time'; and consequently the interpretations based on this assumption have turned out to be unsatisfactory.

Vēlā, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *vēlai* and Telugu-Kannaḍa *vēla* is used in several senses. According to the Sanskrit lexicographer Keśava, it means among other things *vyavasthā* which denotes 'an engagement, agreement or

1. EC, VIII, Sr. 125.

Kavaḍaya Bimmaṁ jōlavāli vālavāli merēdiranta mārvalavam taḷt-iṇidu . . . suralōka-prāptanāda etc. (*Vēla-vāli* in the text is an obvious scribal error for *vēla-vāli*).

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas*, Vol. II, p. 225.

contract'.¹ The Kannaḍa lexicographer Abhinava-Maṅgarāja also takes *vēḷa* and *vyavasthā* as synonymous terms;² and he is supported by the authority of the early Kannaḍa poets who make use of it in this sense. Pampa, for instance, employs the term *vēḷa* in this sense of contract or agreement, while poetically describing the cause of the expansion of the heart of the lovers simultaneously with the blooming of the jasmine in the spring. 'How is it', he asks, 'that the tender hearts of the lovers expand at the thought of their beloved, when the jasmine blooms in the spring? Perhaps the tender hearts of the lovers have taken *vēḷa* (agreement) to the jasmine.'³ Similarly, Bandhuvarman uses the word to point out the dependence of the body on life, as if on terms of a clear contract. 'The duration of life', says he, 'decreases as days pass; and the body, as if it has taken *vēḷa*, perishes with the extinction of life.'⁴ These instances make it quite clear that *vēḷa* denotes, besides its usual meaning 'time', 'an agreement, bond, or contract', as maintained by the lexicographers. This is further corroborated by the evidence of a Ceylonese inscription of the reign of Vijayabāhu I, in which an agreement entered into by the Rājaguru Mahāsthavira Vyāriṇi Mugalan with the *Vēḷaikkārar* is described as a *vyavasthai*, the very term given by the lexicographers as an equivalent of *vēḷa*.⁵

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1. *Nānārthārṇava saṁkṣēpa*, T. S. S. Edn., p. 153.
Vēlākūlē samudrasya tad-ambu vikṛtāv-api
Taraṅgē vatsarē kālē vyavasthāyām-api striyām.
 2. *Nighaṇṭu Nānārthavarga*, 24.
Kaśadōḷ vyavasthayōḷ vēle yaṁd-enikkum, etc.
 3. *Adipurāṇam*, 1 : 110.
..... Malligeḷaḷ vasantadōḷ
Birid-oḍe nallaram nenedu nallara mell-erdagaḷ ni-
rantaram
Birivud-ad-ento? malligege nallara mell-erde vēḷa-
gomḍadō.
4. *Jīvasambōdhanam*, Part I, (Brahmasurayya edn. Mysore
1917), verse 30, p. 9.
Divasada kuṁde kuṁdisugum-āyuvan-āyuge vēḷa-
gomḍad-em
Bavol-aḷigum śarīram.
5. EI, XVIII, p. 337.
Eṅgaḷ anvayam-uḷḷadaṇaiyum-eṇṇāṇṇum-idukku

The meaning of *vēlai* having been thus finally settled, its two derivatives *vēlaikkāraṇ* and *vēla-vāli* may now be taken up for consideration. The former denotes a person who has entered into a covenant with another binding himself to do certain acts; and the latter signifies the obligations arising from that covenant. This is clearly brought out by two Kannaḍa inscriptions of the Cālukyan age. In one of them dated 1060 A.D., it is stated that a certain Tuḷuva Caṇḍiga took a *vēla* with his finger as pledge and cut off the finger so pledged.¹ The other record dated A.D. 1185 describes the self-immolation of a servant on the death of his mistress in pursuance of *vēla-vāli*; Bōka, a servant of Laccaladēvī, the senior queen of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sāvidēvarasa gave a '*bāsa*' (pledge) that he would die with the queen. On the death of the queen, Bōka fulfilled his pledge, and departed to the world of the dead. To describe the pride and greatness of Bōka: when his master called him saying, 'you are a brave man who with resolution offered to take off your head, Bōka gave his head in pursuance of his *vēla-vāli* exciting the admiration of all.'² The nature of this covenant and the obligations pertaining thereto are not, however, clearly known. The inscriptions refer, no doubt, to the vow taken by the *vēlaikkārar* to fight for their overlord, safeguard his interests even at the risk of their lives, and perish with him in the event of his death; but they throw little or no light on their status and the character of the service which they had to render in addition to their military duties.

vēṇḍuvaṇav-ellāñ-cheyvōm-āgavum paṇṇiṇa inda
vyavasthai chandr-ādityavarai nirpad-āga-kkaīy-viṇāv-
eṇṇi-chchembilum kallilum veṭṭuvittu-kkuḍuttōm.

1. E. C. VII. Sk. 152.

Tuḷuva caṇḍigam....berelge vēḷeyēn endu
nuḍidu Śrī-Ballavarasar Satyāśrayar tēvanu
Banavāseya kōṭeya Pannīrcāsaradal paśāya
dēva vṛittiyumaṁ dayageydu kōṭṭa beratam kaḍiye....

2. *Ibid.* Sk. 249. Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram Sōvi-Dēv-
arasana viśāla-vakṣasthala-nivāsiniyar-appa Śrīmat-piriy-araśi
Laccala-Dēviyaru svarggastheyar āgal ā-dēviyar-ōḍa śāven eṇḍu
mun-nuḍida bhāṣeya-neṇṇi satta vara-lōkan appa Bōkana vinkada
bīrad-unnatīy-agra-bhāvav-entene. Ka|| calade tale-gūṇanāḍuva|
Kaliyam nīnendu kayad-oḍeyam....b-in tappa Alaghu-parākram
Bōkam| tale-goṭṭam vēḷe vālig-urvvare poḡaḷal.

Some of the foreign travellers who visited India during the middle ages describe the manner in which people were admitted to the order of the *vēlaikkārar*.

“When they mount on the throne” says Abu Zaid, “some kings of India cause rice to be cooked which is then presented to them on the leaves of the banana. The king musters (on the occasion) three or four hundred friends (who attach themselves to him) by deliberate design, freely, without any one being forced to it. After eating of the rice himself, the king gives of it to his friends, and each one of them, in his turn, goes near (him), takes a little of the rice and eats of it. When the king dies or is killed, all those who have eaten of the rice (with him in this sort of religious communion which binds them intimately), should burn themselves voluntarily on a pyre to the last man, on the very day when the king ceases to live. The king dead, his friends should disappear without delay. This obligation is so imperative that there should remain nothing of these friends, neither body nor trace of themselves.”¹

The *Book of Marvels of India* gives some more interesting details about the initiation of the *vēlaikkārar* and the functions they had to perform in discharge of their duties:

“He (the king) makes them eat rice with him, and gives them betel from his own hand. Each hacks off his little finger, and sets it before the king. And from that moment on, they follow him about, wherever he goes, eat what he eats and drink what he drinks. They superintend his food, and overlook everything which has to do with him. No concubine is brought to his bed, whether it be girl or boy, but they, first of all, examine them thoroughly; no carpet is spread for his feet, till they have inspected it. The king is served with no drink nor dish but they insist it should be, first of all, tasted by whoever brings it. And thus they do, in every instance, where the king might be exposed to some danger. If he dies they commit suicide; if he burns, they cast themselves into flames; if he falls ill, they mishandle themselves in order to share his sufferings. When a battle is fought, in the attack, they cluster round him and never leave his side. Only men of distinguished family

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 128.

who are themselves comely and valiant and of good understanding are admitted among *balāudjers* (*vēlaiikkārar*).¹

The *Vēlaiikkārar* occasionally slew themselves to show their affection to their master. Ibn Batuta records an incident of this kind which happened at Mul-Jawa while he was on a visit to the court of the king.² They were also accustomed to sacrifice their lives to enable their masters to recover their health in case of sickness.³ The *Vēlaiikkārar* held high posts under the government, and exercised considerable power in the kingdom. They were not, however, free men, but slaves, attached to the family of the lord for generations.⁴

The institution of the *vēlaiikkārar* was widespread and popular. It was not peculiar to kings and nobles; nor was it exclusively secular in character. Communities as well as religious foundations entertained *vēlaiikkārar* in their service to safeguard their interests and protect their property.⁵ The duties which they had to discharge were onerous, involving frequently the risk of loss of life. They had to defend the village against raids, and establish the right to property of their masters secular as well as spiritual, by forfeiting their lives.

The conception of duty which bound the *vēlaiikkārar* to their lord exercised profound influence over the doctrines of the nascent Vira-Śaiva creed which rose to great prominence

1. *Ibid.*, p. 129 n. The vestiges of this institution are not yet extinct. The *Nagaripillakāyalu* or 'the children of the palace' who are attached to the Zamindari families of the Telugu country are the modern representatives of the *vēlaiikkārar*. The *Nagaripillakāyalu* are more intimately connected with the private life of the Zamindars than their other servants. They live in the palace, attend to the personal needs of the Zamindar, eat the food partaken by him, dress themselves in his cast-off clothes, and perform several other services which recall to mind the duties of the *vēlaiikkārar*. The *Nagaripillakāyalu* differ from the *vēlaiikkārar* in that they do not kill themselves on the death of their master; but that is due to the changed conditions of life under which they live at the present day.

2. Broadway Travellers: *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 278.

3. MER. 1913, Part ii, Para. 22, p. 97.

4. Broadway Travellers: *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 278.

5. ARE 368 of 1914, 188 of 1925.

during the age of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. The originators of this creed pressed into service political and social ideas and ideals current at the time in shaping their doctrines. Śiva, the supreme god, was made to stand in the same relation to the *bhaktas* or the faithful, as the lord was to his *vēḷaikkārar*; the *dikṣā* or the initiation into the mysteries of the faith was substituted for the *vēḷaikkārar's* vow to be faithful to the lord in life as well as in death; the cooked rice which the *vēḷaikkārar* partook with their lord was transformed into the *nairmālya* (food offered to the deity); and the *bhaktas* were strictly enjoined to eat it without wasting even a particle. The *bhaktas* thus initiated into the faith were invested with the emblem of the *liṅga*, called *prāṇa-liṅga*, perhaps in imitation of the practice in pursuance of which the *vēḷaikkārar* were branded with some mark or symbol of their master.¹ The *liṅga* was to be looked

1. This is clearly indicated by the term *tiruccūla-vēḷaikkārar* or the *vēḷaikkārar* bearing the mark of the *triśūla* mentioned in an epigraph at Punjai dated in the 14th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II (188 of 1925). The *Vēḷaikkārar* who were attached, in this instance, to the local temple of Śiva were branded with the mark of the *triśūla*, a weapon peculiar to the god to show that they were the servants of the deity. Another instance which is closely parallel to this is the practice of branding *devadāsīs* at the time of their dedication to the service of temples. Āccapiḍāraṇ Gaṇapati Nambi alias Aḷakiya Pāṇḍya-Pallavarāyaṇ, a captain in one of the regiments of Kulottuṅga's army 'presented some women of his family as *dēvarāḍiyar* for service in the temple of Tiruvaḷḷam-Uḍaiyar, after branding them, with *Śūla* (trident) mark' (230 of 1921). The practice of branding the followers of Viṣṇu with the *Śaṅkha* and *Cakra*, the characteristic symbols of the God, may also be remembered in this connection. It appears to have been customary to change these marks with the change of masters. 'The *dēvarāḍiyar* belonging to the temple at Tirukālatti had been forced into the royal household'. This was brought to the notice of the emperor Kulottuṅga I. It was noticed that the mark of the *Śūla* was erased, and the royal *lāñchana* was impressed in its place. The emperor enquired into the matter and commanded that the *dēvarāḍiyar* in question should be branded again with the mark of the *Śūla* and restored to the temple. (MER. 1922, Part ii, Para. 19. I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar for having drawn my attention to these records.) The practice is based on the principle that what belongs to an individual should

upon not as a mere symbol but as the deity himself. The *bhakta* should lose it on no account. If by chance he happened to lose it, he should not survive its loss, but cut his throat and die in the same manner as the *vēlaikkārar* on the death of their lord.¹ The *bhakta*, like the *vēlaikkāraṇ*, should incessantly strive to promote the interests of his lord; he should put to death without hesitation people who disparage Śiva, destroy the opposing creeds and establish the true faith even at the point of the sword.

The *tiruccūla-vēlaikkārar* of Puñjai in the Tanjore District, for instance, had to cast themselves into the fire and perish in the flames in order to establish the right of the local Śiva temple to the ownership of certain *dēvadāna* lands which were in the enjoyment of some unscrupulous men.² The ten *Virabhadras* whom the Rājaguru Viśveśvara-Śiva appointed to protect the *dēvalāna* villages, Mandaram and Velaṅgapūḍi which the Kākatiya sovereigns Gaṇapati and Rudrāmbā had granted to him as an *agrahāra*, and which he, in turn, had assigned to a *maṭha* and *satrālaya* founded by him, were expected to protect the village by *bījacchēda*, *śīracchēda* and *kuṣicchēda*.³ As the *vēlaikkārar* of this class were very seldom called upon to take up arms in defence of their trust they soon lost their military character and became guardians of the interests of the community or religious institution, as the case might be. Whether the *vēlaikkārar* were soldiers fighting for their lords, or were mere protectors of the rights and privileges of private bodies, they had one thing in common. They devoted themselves exclusively to the service

bear his mark to proclaim his ownership. The *vēlaikkārar*, the *dēvadāsīs* and the *bhaktas* forfeited their freedom by the terms of their agreement to serve the lord or god and became his slaves, his property. It is only reasonable that they should bear the emblem of their master.

1. Prāṇa-liṅga-vratē luptē prāyaścittam na vidyatē|
Prāṇa-liṅgātparam tasmāt sāvadhānēna dhārayēt||
Prāṇa-liṅgē ca vicchinnē liṅgē prāṇaṇ parityajēt|
Prati-dīkṣām prāpya tiṣṭhēd-rauravaṁ narakam vrajēt.||

—*Siddhāntasikhāmaṇi* (cited by V. Prabhakara Sastri in his Introduction to the *Basavapurāṇam*, p. 79).

2. No. 188 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
3. JAHRS, IV, p. 160.

of their masters, and considered no sacrifice too great in promoting the interests of those to whom they had dedicated their lives.

The employment of *vēḷaikkārar* in the temple seems to have brought in its train a modification of the meaning of the term *vēḷai*. It was due to the difference in the character of the lord, *viz.*, the presiding deity of the temple. He was divine, and his interests were bound up more with spiritual than with the worldly affairs. The duties which the *vēḷaikkārar* were called upon to discharge in the service of their divine master differed in character; and consequently the scope of the *vēḷai* (pledge) which they had to give to their lord was widened, so as to include spiritual duties. Therefore, *vēḷa-vāḷi* which originally denoted an obligation arising from a pledge to render personal service to a human lord, appears to have developed a new significance in this manner and become synonymous with *samaya-dharma* or religious obligation.

The Tamil inscriptions of the twelfth. and thirteenth centuries copied from the South Arcot District refer to a class of female servants called *vēḷaikkāris*, who bound themselves, like *vēḷaikkārar*, by most solemn oaths to die with their masters.¹ It is not known whether they had any connection with the *vēḷaikkārar*. They were perhaps personal attendants doing menial service to their lords like *anugu-Naṅgāṇḍi* who used to massage the feet of Kulōttuṅgaḍēva.² They were perhaps unmarried, and were prevented from entering into marital relations by the conditions of service. The *vēḷaikkāris* immolated themselves, as shown by their recorded vows, on the death of their master.

III

Leṅka-vāḷi: The *vēḷaikkārar*s figure mainly in the inscriptions of the Cōḷa and the Tōṇḍai-maṇḍalams. However, the order to which they belonged was not unknown outside these countries. They were called *Tennavan Āpottudaviḷaḷ* in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, and *leṅkas* in Teliṅgāṇa and Kārṇāṭa. Very little is known about the character and, functions of the former though like the *vēḷaikkārar*, they seem to have killed themselves

1. ARE 136 to 149 of 1934-1935.

2. SII, iv, No. 1253.

by casting themselves on the pyre of their dead master.¹ About the latter, however, a good deal of information is available. The word *leṅka* which is frequently met with in the Telugu and Kannaḍa inscriptions and in literary works is of unknown origin. Very probably it is connected with the Marāṭhi word *lēṅk* meaning 'a son or daughter'. Perhaps like *mulgā* with which it is said to correspond, it also denotes 'a male child of a female slave of the state'²; for the *leṅkas* styled themselves as *kumāras* or sons of their masters and were brought up probably like Lakṣma-Daṇḍādhiśa of the Hoysaḷa records in the royal palace itself.³ Like *vēḷaikkārar*, they were slaves who entered into a covenant with their lord to devote themselves exclusively to his service. They took an oath (*bhāṣe*, *bāse*) to look upon their lord as 'their *guru* and deity' in this world as in the next⁴; and pay no regard either for their property or lives in furthering his interests; stand by him in the hour of danger; fight his battles and kill themselves in the event of his death. The ideal of conduct which the *leṅkas* were expected to follow was, indeed, lofty. The chief characteristics of a *leṅka* are thus described in an inscription dated 1045 A.D.: "Truth should be his utterance, praise (of his master) his work, charity his recreation, succour of the distressed seeking his protection his merit, and unflinching attitude in a great battle his prime concern,—these are the characteristics of the *leṅkas* eulogised (loudly) like the proclamation of a kettle-drum by the learned on the surface of the earth."⁵ The obligations and duties which the *leṅkas* had to discharge were known as *leṅka-vāḷi*⁶; and they were granted estates out of the proceeds of which they had to maintain themselves. The *leṅkas* appear to have been known as *anugus* or *anugas*, that is companions who followed their master; for the villages, allotted for their maintenance, are described *anugu-jīvita* or the territory assigned to the *anugus* for their subsistence.⁷ It is evident that the *leṅkas* and *anugus* were identical.

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1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 196-7.
 2. Molesworth: *Dictionary Marāṭhi-English*, pp. 660, 722.
 3. E. C. v, Bl. 112.
 4. E. C. v, Bl. 112.
 5. SII, ix, i, No. 101 (ARE 443 of 1914).
 6. E. C. iv, Kr. 9.
 7. SII. IX, i, Nos. 101; 104.

The *anugus* seem to have resided, like the *leṅkas*, in the royal palace; and the hall where they dwelt or assembled together was known as the *anugu-mogasāla* or the hall of the *anugus*.¹ The *leṅkas* were always in attendance on their lord, ushered people into his presence, looked after his needs, helped him in the management of the palace and the administration of his estates, accompanied him to the hunt, sported in his company in the pleasure gardens, and fought his battles risking their lives. Though the *leṅkas* were a heterogeneous community drawn from several classes of people, they attained high positions in the state, according to their ability and skill.² They became ministers and commanders of powerful armies. They could marry and beget children; acquire property, and dispose of it with the consent of the lord. The *leṅka* together with his *leṅkiti* and his men and maid servants should perish with the lord. Lakṣma-Daṇḍādhiśa, the general of Hoysala king Ballāḷa II, together with his wife Suggale and a band of thousand *leṅkas*, killed himself in fulfilment of the vow he had taken to remain faithful to his sovereign.³ Another *leṅka*, Śivaneya-Nāyaka also with five other *leṅkas* fulfilled his engagement with the same monarch.⁴ Similarly Lakkheya-Nāyaka with his wife and three *leṅkas* perished with Narasimha I; Kanneya-Nāyaka, his three wives, ten *leṅkitis* and twenty four *leṅkas* embraced Garuḍa and died with Sōmēśvara⁵; and Singeya-Nāyaka, his three wives, ten *leṅkitis*, and twenty *leṅkas* immolated themselves on the death of Narasimha III, and fulfilled their engagement.⁶ Such instances can be multiplied, but these are sufficient to show the fidelity unto death of these *leṅkas* and *leṅkitis* to their masters. It is not known whether the *leṅkitis* were merely the wives of the *leṅkas* or were, like the *vēḷaikkāris* of the Tamil inscriptions, maid-servants in the service of the lord, bound to him by the same kind of oath like the *leṅkas* themselves. The breach of the oath of *leṅka-vāḷi* was fraught with serious consequences. *Leṅkas* who deserted their master,

1. *Āndhra-Mahābhāratam*, Udyogaparvan, 3: 17. *Hari-vamśamu*, 3: 17.

2. *Bharati*, Vol. XV, Part ii, pp. 139 ff.

3. E.C. v, Bl. 112.

4. *Ibid.* iv, Kr. 9.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.* Kr. 10.

contrary to the pledge of their order or attempted to seek service, after the master's death, under others, were sternly dealt with. Lakṣma-Daṇḍādhiśa is said to have justified his claim to the title, 'the chastiser of the *leṅkas* who break their plighted word to their master in the stress of war'.¹ Similarly, the descendants of Gaṇḍa-Nārāyaṇa-Ṣeṭṭi, one of the *leṅka-nāyakas* dependent on the Hoysala family, claim to have been the chastisers of the *leṅkas* who break their plighted word, chastisers of the *leṅkas* who run away at the sound of the drum, and the chastisers of the *leṅkas* who set store by (their own) property or life.² Nothing is, however, known about the manner in which punishment was meted out to the defaulting *leṅkas*. They were probably put to death.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the three terms *jōḻavāḻi*, *vēḻavāḻi* and *leṅkavāḻi* refer to some political and military obligations which certain classes of people had to discharge in the service of their lord. *Jōḻavāḻi* denotes an obligation which a subject owed to his master for maintaining him by providing him with food and nourishment. The other two relate to the duties respectively of the *vēḻaiikkārar* and the *leṅkas*, two classes of slaves who were in the service of the ancient Hindu kings of Deccan and South India.

1. E. C. v, Bl. 112. Bhāsege-tappuvamkada negaḷteya leṅkara gaṁḍan embudaṁ| Bīsaram āgaḍ uddharipuḍētoḍa| uddharipaṁ.

2. E. C. iv, Kr. 9. Bāsage tappuva leṅkara gaṁḍarum gōsaṇe vodaguva leṅkara gaṁḍaram dhanamana prāṇaṅaḷolu seragu vārva leṅkara gaṁḍarum.

TAMIL SYNTAX.

(A PAPER PRESENTED AT THE TENTH ALL-INDIA
ORIENTAL CONFERENCE)

BY

MR. A. CHIDAMBARANATHA CHETTIAR, M.A.,
Lecturer in Tamil, Annamalai University.

“Syntax” is interpreted in different ways. The root-meaning of the word is “arranging together”.¹ There are several scholars who divide syntax into separate departments, *viz.*, order, concerned, government and cross-reference. Among such scholars is that famous American philologist, Dr. Bloomfield². Mr. Nesfield, on the contrary, has devoted his entire attention in his English Grammar to the Order of Words in a sentence.³ He has, besides, remarked that divisions into concord and government are not useful in modern English, because it has lost several of its inflexions. Therefore, it behoves us to be guarded in our use of the expression “syntax” in relation to any language. Prof. A. H. Sayce, for instance, said⁴ “Where there is elaborate formal grammar there may not be a rich syntax”. In a similar manner Prof. Earle also said “Syntax varies inversely in richness or poverty as accidence is poor or rich.” Considered in this way, Tamil should not be expected to have a rich syntax, for there is elaborate formal grammar in it. It is believed that in Sanskrit there is no rich syntax because of this reason⁵. But writers such as the Rev. Mr. Rhenius, the Rev. Mr. Pope and the Rev. Mr. Beschi have given elaborate syntaxes in their Tamil grammars. How then are we to reconcile the practice as we find in these grammarians with the theory formulated by Sayce and Earle? There are two ways of reconciling these. They are either by means of saying that just

1. W. W. SKEAT: An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language.

2. Language, p, 191.

3. Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis, Bk. IV, p. 150.

4. The Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 428.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 392.

as Greek in spite of its possession of elaborate formal grammar is still rich in syntax, Tamil despite its grammar has an elaborate syntax, or by means of saying that what is meant by syntax, according to Sayce and Earle, is order alone of words.

Tamil is not rich in syntax in the sense in which Sayce would say English is; that is to say, in the matter of the order of words in a sentence there are not many sanctions and taboos in Tamil. For instance, it is the order of words in English and Chinese that decides the meaning of words, as in "Rāma killed Rāvaṇa". Here if the order is changed so as to read "Rāvaṇa killed Rāma" the contrary assertion is the result. In Tamil, a change in the order as "Rāmaṇ Rāvaṇaṇaik-koṇṛāṇ, Rāvaṇaṇai Rāmaṇ koṇṛāṇ, Koṇṛāṇ Rāmaṇ Rāvaṇaṇai, Koṇṛāṇ Rāvaṇaṇai Rāmaṇ" would not interfere with the meaning except in regard to emphasis. These Tamil sentences seem to emerge from the same process as the Latin "*Pater amat filium*", "*Filium pater amat*" and "*amat pater filium*", all meaning "The father loves the son". This process is unlike what we find in the Chinese¹ where "*ngo ta ni*" means "I beat thee" and "*ni ta ngo*" means "You beat me". Hence we might say that if syntax means "Order" alone, Tamil is not rich in it. But if syntax means, as is taken by Leonard Bloomfield, concord, government and cross-reference, Tamil has it.

Now let us see whether we have all these sub-divisions of syntax in Tamil. Tolkāppiyar in his rules in "Kīḷavi ākkam" has given certain injunctions regarding the order of words. In one rule (No. 38) he has said that demonstrative pronouns should not precede "iyarpeyar" or real names to which they refer. In another rule (No. 41) he has said that surnames should precede real names (*e.g.* Muṇivaṇ Akattiyaṇ). As some other instances of requirements of order we might mention the following:—

1. The adjective should precede the word it qualifies.
(*e.g.* nalla kaṇi=good fruit).
2. The adverb should precede the verb it modifies.
(*e.g.* naṇṛāy uṇṭāṇ=ate well).
3. The verbal participle should precede the finite verb.
(*e.g.* vantu pōṇāṇ=Having come, he went.)

1. Dr. T. G. TUCKER: Introduction to the Natural History of Language, p. 121.

The normal order of words in a Tamil sentence is supposed to be subject-object-verb. This is different from the English order which is subject-verb-object.¹ It is English, Scandinavian and Romanic that do not place the verb in the final position. On the contrary, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon and Dravidian put the verb at the last part of the sentence. It would appear that if a deaf-mute is trained to communicate his ideas, he puts the verb always at the end. This method therefore seems to be very natural.²

As regards concord, the verb in Tamil must agree with the subject or the nominative in the matter of gender, number and person (*E.g.* *avaṇ pōkiṛāṇ*; *avaḷ pōkiṛāl*; *avar pōkiṛār*). Instances of concord in English are "he goes" and "they go". Instances of Sanskrit concord are "Saḥ apatat" (=he fell) and "tē apatan" (=they fell).

There are very sure instances of government in Tamil. The second and first personal pronouns govern a plural verb of the first person (*e.g.* *nāṇum nīyum pōvōm*=You and I will go.) The second and third personal pronouns govern a plural verb of the second (*e.g.* *nīyum avaṇum pōṇir*=He and you went). The first, second and third personal pronouns take a plural-ending of the first (*e.g.* *nāṇum nīyum avaṇum pōṇōm*=He, you and I went). Two or more nominatives singular of the rational class govern an epicene plural (*e.g.* *Kapilaṇum Paraṇaṇum vantār*).

As regards case and its government, we have definite information supplied in Tamil Grammars. The first and eighth cases govern a verb (*e.g.* *avaṇ vantāṇ*=He came; *makaḷē vā*=come, O! daughter). The second and third cases in a similar manner govern a verb (*e.g.* *avaṇai alāittāṇ*=he called him; *kaiyāl eluṭiṇāṇ*=wrote with the hand). The fourth and sixth cases generally take a noun (*e.g.* *nōyḱku maruntu*=medicine for the disease; *eṇatu kai*=my hand). But the dative case can govern a verb too (*e.g.* *avaṇukkuk koṭuttāṇ*=He gave him). In the fifth case the ablative of direction takes a noun (*e.g.* *Chidambarattiṇ kiḷakku Aṇṇāmālainagar*=Annamalainagar lies east of Chidambaram). The ablative of motion, however,

1. Language, its nature, etc., p. 345 (1934 edn.)

2. Cf. A. H. SAYCE: The Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 436.

as in “*Ūriṇ nīṅkiṇāṇ*” (=left the city)’ takes a verb. The seventh case can govern either a verb or a noun (*e.g.* *malaiyiṇ-kaṇ aruvi*=a fountain on the mountain; *Nilamicai vālvār* (=those living on the earth)).

There is no cross-reference in Tamil. “*Puella cantat*” in Latin literally means “the girl—she sings”. In English this would be “the girl sings”. The expression “cantat” can mean either “she sings” or “he sings” or “it sings”. That it is “she” and not “it” or “he” is brought out by the cross-reference in “*puella*”.¹ There is no need in Tamil for such cross-reference.

But the order and concord, we have seen before, do not appear to be absolutely essential in Tamil. English, which has no case-endings except probably the suffix of the genitive, has an order that cannot be dispensed with. But Tamil which is rich in cases can dispense with its order, if it has any, without doing violence to the meaning. We shall now see that in the following instances there is no order insisted upon in Tamil. We can indifferently say either “*mūvar makaḷir*” or “*makaḷir mūvar*”, but the order of the corresponding expression in English is strict: “three women” and not “women three”. English writers, being accustomed to a strict order in their language, imagine there is such an order in the languages they look at. That must be the reason why certain things, which do not constitute order, have been mentioned by the Rev. A. H. Arden,² and the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius³ under the head of Order in Tamil. For instance, the comparative is said to precede that which is compared and “*ivaṇiṇuṁ avaṇ nallavaṇ*” (=he is better than this man) is cited.⁴ This order is only imaginary, for we could equally say “*avaṇ ivaṇiṇuṁ nallavaṇ*”. Thus that which is compared can also go before the comparative. It is again said that the similitude precedes that which is similar. The instance “*Sūryaṇaiṇ pōlap pirakāśikkirāṇ*” (=He shines as the sun) is given. But without doing any harm to the meaning, we can inverse the order and say “*avaṇ sūryaṇaiṇ pōlap pirakāśikkirāṇ*”. These things then show that the position of words in a sentence does not matter very much in Tamil and there is no “order” properly so-called.

1. *Vide* BLOOMFIELD: Language (1935), p. 193.

2. A Progressive Grammar, p. 87, *et seq.*

3. A Grammar of the Tamil Language, p. 212.

4. ARDEN, p. 87.

As regards concord, we find that it exists in Tamil only so far as the verb is in agreement with the nominative in point of number and person. Other concords known to certain other languages are not found in Tamil. For instance, in Sanskrit “kuśalaḥ Ramaḥ” would mean “happy Rama”; ‘kuśalinī Sītā’ would mean ‘happy Sītā’. Here the adjective is in concord with the noun. Both these phrases, when rendered into Tamil, will have the same form of the adjective: *maḷḷiciyāṇa*. In a similar manner “*kalter wein*”, “*kalte milch*” and “*kalttes wasser*” would in German mean respectively cold wine, cold milk and cold water. Here there is concord of the adjective with the noun. Even so in Sanskrit there is a regular concord of the adjective with the noun, through every case. The following paradigm will make the point clear:—

	Adjective (Masculine Singular)	Noun (Masculine Singular)
Nominative.	pāpaḥ	kāmaḥ
Accusative.	pāpam	kāmam
Instrumental.	pāpena	kāmena
Dative.	pāpāya	kāmāya
Abative.	pāpāt	kāmāt
Genitive.	pāpasya	kāmasya
Locative.	pāpe	kāme
Vocative.	pāpa	kāma

But there is no such concord in Tamil.

There is another kind of concord which we find in English (*e.g.* This man and these men). There is no such concord in Tamil. We say “*inta maṇitaṇ, inta maṇitar*”. Furthermore, there is concord in English between the relative pronoun and that which it governs (*e.g.* that which cried, and he who spoke). But in the corresponding expressions in Tamil, *aḷuta kuḷavi* and *pēṣiya maṇitaṇ*, the terminations of the relative participle are the same.

Considered in this manner, government alone seems to be the most important division of syntax found in Tamil. Though order and concord are attributed to it, they are of course very rare. That kind of agreement, known as cross-reference, has no part to play in Tamil.

॥ नमो मात्रे ॥

॥ भवभूतिः करुणरसश्च ॥

वा. ह. सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री

समस्तमेव जगत् साक्षात्परम्परया वा रसाङ्गतामुपयातीति नेदमास्थेयं साध्यसरणौ । यतस्तत्रभवान् आचार्यानन्दवर्धनः 'वस्तु च सर्वमेव जगद्गत-मवश्यं कस्यचित् रसस्याङ्गत्वं प्रतिपद्यते विभावात्मने'ति सिद्धप्रायमनुवदति । स्थितेऽस्मिन् समये, समेभ्यः पदार्थेभ्यः कविनटादिव्यापारागोचरेभ्यो रसोत्पत्त्या-पत्तेः पारिजिहीर्षवस्ते आलंकारिकसमयाचार्याः काव्यादितात्पर्यमेव तत्र नियामकमुशन्ति । कवयो हि कमपि रसमिति वृत्तोचितमैदम्पर्येण विशदयन्ति स्वेषु काव्येषु । तेषु कविप्रेष्ठो भवभूतिः करुणं रसं विशदयितुं किमपि कौशलं कक्षीकरोतीति सद्दयसम्पत्ता प्रशस्तिराचकास्ति । यामनुबध्नन्ती 'भवभूते-स्सम्बन्धाद्भारतभूरेव भारती भाति । एतत्कृतकारुण्ये किमन्यथा रोदिति प्राव ।।' इत्यनन्तपण्डितस्य सूक्तिरपि प्रावर्तत । शृङ्गारादीनां यद्यपि रसानां भग्नावरणचिद्रूपत्वेन, अनुभोक्तृभिः विगलितनिखिलवेद्यान्तरत्वाद्यात्मना अनुभूयमानत्वेन च नास्त्येव परस्परं भेद इति, नायं कविः समुत्कृष्यते कव्यन्तरेभ्यः करुणवर्णनेन । अद्यापि वाच्यवर्त्मसमास्थितस्य रसशब्दस्यापि स्थायीभाव एवाभिधेय इति प्रामाणिकव्यवस्थितेः, करुणस्थायीभावस्य अन्येषां च तत्कारणानामालम्बनादीनामुपवर्णने प्रकृष्यत एवायं परेभ्य इति प्रसिद्धे-रुदयः ॥

अपि च कवयोऽपि कालिदासाद्याः शृङ्गारादीनुपनिबध्नन्ति । अयं च करुणम् । तत्समाने रसप्रतिपादने कुतोऽयमन्येभ्यो विशिष्यत इति विमृश्यमाने करुणो रसो रसान्तरेभ्यः परमुत्कृष्यते । तत्प्रतिपादने चास्य इतरेषां रसवर्णन-धोरणीतः कापि विलक्षणा हृदयालुभिराहता सरणिः वशंगता विलसतीत्यपि भावमुत्प्रेक्षामहे पूर्वोक्तायाः प्रशस्तेर्मूलकारणतया । तदयमवार्थः यथा प्रसिध्येत् तथा क्रमशः प्रतरिष्यामः ॥

१९३६ वत्सरे संस्कृतलेखासमित्या भवभूतिमहोत्सवे प्रथमपारितोषिकेण सम्भा-
गितोऽयं चन्द्रमः ।

सन्ति दर्शनानि रसत्रिभागे विभिन्नानि । यथा शृङ्गार एक एव रसः । अपरे च तद्विवर्ता इति शृङ्गारतिलके । अत्र युक्तिमप्यायुंजते । रसो हि रस्यमानताप्राणः नैव माधुर्यमतिवर्तेत । अतो ह्यानन्दयत्यखिलान् । तस्मात् शृङ्गार एव मधुरः परः प्रह्लादनो रसः । नान्यः । अन्येषु हि नैवं माधुर्यं प्रह्लादनं वा विभाव्यते प्रतिपत्तुभिः । तन्न शृङ्गारविवर्ततां व्यावर्त्य प्रह्लादयितुं प्रगल्भेतैकोऽपि रस इति । अपरत्र, शान्तः समेषां रसानामधिष्ठानात्मा । स च विवर्तते विविधरसात्मना निमित्तभेदात् । 'स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादुत्पद्यते रसः । पुनर्निमित्तापाये तु शान्त एव प्रलीयते ॥' इति भरतोदीरितं प्रमाणयतां मतमालोक्यते । इतरत्र च शान्तस्य अखिलानुभवागोचरतामनभिनेयतां स्थाय्यभाववत्तां चोत्प्रेक्ष्य तदभावः प्रकल्पितः । अन्यत्र धर्मदत्तग्रन्थे चमत्कार-सारत्वं सर्वेषां रसानामनुभवतोऽनुविन्द्य सर्वत्राद्भुत एव रस इति राद्धान्तितम् । तदुक्तिरप्यत्र, 'रसे सारश्चमत्कारः सर्वत्रैवानुभूयते । तच्चमत्कारसारत्वे सर्वत्राप्यद्भुतो रसः ॥ तस्मादद्भुतमेवाह कृती नारायणो रसम्' इति दृश्यते । प्रकृतस्तु कवयिता स्वीये रामोत्तरचरिते व्यापारेण व्यञ्जनाभिधेन एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तभेदात् नानात्मा विवर्तत इति करुणस्यैवैतरेभ्य औत्कृष्ट्यं सिद्धान्तयति । न केवलमौत्कृष्ट्यम्, यावत्तस्यैव रसत्वम्, इतरेषां तदनन्यत्वं च प्रतिपादयति ।

एषु च प्रभेदेषु विनान्तिमं सर्वेऽपि प्रभेदाः परश्शतहेतुभिः पर्यवस्था-पिता एव तत्तन्मतप्रवर्तकैः । अन्तिमस्वेको रसः करुण इत्यादिपक्षः न केनाप्यैदम्पर्येण यन्नतः साधितोऽद्यापि न कदापि प्रतिक्षेप्यपदवीमुपारोढुमर्हति । यद्वेदाध्ययनमित्यादिना शास्त्रशाणनिकषणतीक्ष्णतमधिषणत्वेन निर्धारितस्य शब्दब्रह्मविदः कवेरस्य भावः प्राकृतस्यैव जनस्य प्रत्याख्यानपारुष्यं कथमिवावहेत् । नैतादृशो युक्तिमनुभवं वा अनास्थाय प्रमत्तप्रलापायितं किमप्यभि-दध्यात् । अतोऽस्माभिरस्य पक्षस्य चिन्तनीयात्संवादाः ॥

अत्रेमं वादं भवभूतीयमेके नानुमन्यन्ते । यतः स कविवेधा उत्तर-रामचरिते तृतीयेऽङ्के प्रस्तुतं वृत्तमनुकीर्तयति तमसामुखेन । न रसं सिद्धान्तयति । यतः तस्मिन् अङ्के संभोगशृङ्गारस्य काचित्कतया खद्योतविलसित-निभतया च क्षणिकता, करुणस्य च स्थिरता अनुस्यूततया अविच्छिन्नतया च स्पष्टमालोक्यते इति । अथापि उत्तरे रामचरिते शृङ्गार एक एव रसः सर्वाङ्गव्यापीति समर्थयतां शास्त्रावलम्बिनामयं वाद इति विस्तरतः परस्तात्तदौ-

चित्यं परिशीलयिष्यामः । पूर्वतनस्तु पक्षस्तत्र करुणं रसं प्रबन्धव्यापिनं प्रधानं मन्वानानां सम्मत इति बहुवादिसम्मतः । तद्वयमपीदानीं बहुसम्मतिं प्रमाणयन्तः करुणवादमेव कक्षीकुर्मः ॥

किञ्च पद्यस्यास्य अर्थपर्यालोचने यथा अप्रकृतस्य अर्थस्य पुरतः स्फूर्तिः न तथा प्रकृतस्येति पदार्थपरीक्षकाणां हृदयमेव प्रमाणम् । परिणतप्रज्ञः स्वायत्तशब्दप्रपञ्चः कविः प्रकृतमर्थं तात्पर्येण प्रिपादयन् कथमिवाप्रकृतमर्थं पुरस्फूर्तिकमादध्यात् ? प्रतिपिपादयिषितं च पृष्ठतः । अपि च काव्यकर्ता परित्यज्येदृशं पन्थानं, कथं वा स्वराद्धान्तं प्रकटयेत् ? प्रस्तुतार्थप्रकटनद्वारा आत्मनस्तात्पर्याविष्करणं हि कविसमयसंगतम् । तदनुरोधेनाविर्विहिते कवेस्तात्पर्ये सर्वत्रैव यदि पूर्वोक्ता प्रकृतमात्रपक्षपातिनी दृक्परिगृह्येत हन्त तपस्विनः सर्वे कवयस्तूलिताःस्युः । अतो नेदं वर्त्म सांप्रतमालक्ष्यते । अन्यच्च पद्यमिदं पृथक्कृतमपि प्रकरणात् संगतमेवार्थमभिधत्ते । प्रत्युप्तमपि प्रकरणे मुक्तकायितं भाति । पद्यस्यास्याभावेऽपि पूर्वोत्तरयोस्सन्दर्भयोरन्वयो नाजस्यं परित्यजति । तदेभिः कारणैस्तत्त्वमिदमाविर्विधातुमेव ईदृशं ग्रथितं पद्यं कवयित्रा प्रकरणाविरोधेनेति निश्चिनुमः । नास्य पद्यस्य अप्रकृतार्थाभिधायित्वसमर्थनार्थमस्माकं व्यवसायः, किन्तु अप्रकृतस्यैवार्थस्य अप्रतिसमाधेयैः युक्तिविशेषैः व्यवस्थापितता, अलंकारशासकैरनुन्मीलितता च वरीवर्तात्यस्मिन्नप्यर्थे कवयितुरैदम्पर्यप्रकटनार्थम् । न ह्येकोऽप्यालंकारिकः सधीरमुवाच 'करुण एक एव रसः अन्ये च तद्विवर्ताः' इति ॥

युक्तिसिद्धा हि करुणविवर्ततरेषाम् तथा हि—भग्नारवणा निर्विशेषा चिदेव रस इति सिद्धान्तात् आत्मस्वरूपता तावद्रसस्य संसिध्यत्येव । अतः खलु आत्मनो रसात्मकत्वे 'रसो वै सः' इति श्रुतिमपि प्रमाणयन्ति । स एवास्माभिरद्य सर्वरसाधिष्ठानं करुण इति व्यपदिश्यते । आत्मनः करुणामूर्तित्वात् तदभिन्नस्य रसस्य तत्त्वं को वा प्रतिबध्नीयात् । 'करुणामूर्ते न सर्वथोपक्ष्य' इत्यात्मनः करुणामयत्वं अभिदधाति पण्डितराजः । आत्मनः करुणामयत्वानभ्युपगमे अनन्तकल्याणगुणवत्ता श्रुतिसिद्धा सुदूरमुत्सर्धेत । अनुरुध्याद्वैतप्रक्रियां, आत्मनः गुणविगलितता, ततश्च करुणामयत्वाभावश्च यदि प्रसाध्येत, तदात्वे शान्तं, शिवम्, अद्वैतम् इत्यादिपदानामिव सकरुणपदस्याप्यात्मनि आज्ञस्यमनुषङ्गनीयम् । यद्यप्यालंकारिकाः शोकस्थायिकं तदनुगुणविभावानुभावकं च करुणं रसमभ्युपयन्ति । करुणा-

मूर्ते इत्यादिपण्डितोक्तेश्च दयामूर्तित्वे एव तात्पर्यं विद्यते । तथापि चित् एव रसत्वाभिधानात् आत्मनिष्ठेषु च निखिलेषु सद्गुणेषु करुणाया एव अभ्यर्हणीय-
तमत्वात्, आत्मनः करुणामयत्वाभ्युपपत्त्यैव समानि जगन्ति प्राणवन्ति इत्यनु-
भवात्, अस्याः करुणाया अलंकारिकानां रसपरिगणने श्रूयमाणकरुणस्य च
लौकिकहास्यस्य रसपरिगणनागणितहास्यस्येव अत्यन्तं भेदाभावाच्च नालंकारिक-
करुणस्यात्मरूपत्वे विप्रतिपद्येत कश्चित् । अत्र च श्रीशङ्कुकाचार्या एवं
संबदन्ते—‘या दया हृदयगता हि करुणा लोके प्रसिद्धा । सा च लिङ्गैरनुकर्तरि
शोकं प्रतीयतां सामाजिकानामिति करुणव्यपदेशः’ इति । यद्यकरुणात्मक
आत्मा स्यात् तदा विश्वमिदं विपर्यस्येत् । सन्तु, अथवा
न सन्तु तस्मिन्नन्ये सङ्कशः सद्गुणाः । करुणाभिधानस्तु गुणो न कदापि तं
विमोक्तुमर्हति । यदि नाम न वर्तेत तस्मिन्नयमभ्यर्हणीयतमो गुणः कथमिवो-
दीरयेत् ‘अपि चेदसि पापेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः पापकृतमः । सर्वं ज्ञानप्लवे-
नैव वृजिनं सन्तरिष्यसि ॥’ ‘अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः’
इत्यादि । आत्मा च करुणात्मक एव सन् रसात्मकसंपद्यते । न ह्यकरुणो
रसात्मकः प्रीयमाणश्च लोके दृष्टः । द्रुत्यात्मकविकासभाजि अन्तःकरणे
प्रतिबिम्बनात् भग्नावरणा चित् हि रसशब्दवाच्या । द्रुत्यात्मकविकासश्च विना
करुणं न कुत्राप्युपजायेत । यद्यपि करुणे विप्रलम्भे शान्ते च द्रुतिस्तारतम्येन
वर्तते इति रसस्वरूपवादिभिरभ्यधायि । तत्रापि विप्रलम्भे शान्ते च करुणानु-
प्रवेशेनैव तादृशी द्रुतिरिति परस्तात्प्रतिपादयिष्यामः । पूर्वोक्तरूपत्वे रसस्याभ्युप-
गन्तव्ये न केवलमेषु त्रिषु रसेष्वेव द्रुतिः यावत्सर्वेषु रसेषु सा स्वीकरणीयैव
जायते । द्रुतेः स्वीकारे च तत्कारणत्वेन करुणस्तत्र स्वीकरणीय एव । अत्र च
द्रुत्याश्रयत्वस्यान्तःकरणेऽभ्युपगमेऽपि तत्र चितोऽभेदाध्यासात् द्रुत्यात्मकत्वं
तत्प्रतिबिम्बितचैतन्यस्यैव सिध्यतीति भावः । एवं विना करुणमात्मनः
प्रीयमाणत्वं च न संपद्येत । प्रीतिश्च द्रुत्यात्मकचित्तविकासप्रतिफलित-
चैतन्यानुभवादनन्येति तत्रापि द्रुतिकारणत्वेन करुणरूपत्वमङ्गीकरणीयमेव ।
ईदृशप्रीत्याश्रयत्वादेवात्मनः ‘सर्वस्यात्मा परः प्रियः’ इति श्रावयति श्रुतिः ।
तद्विना करुणमात्मा रस्यमानः प्रीयमाणश्च नैवेत । तदभिव्यक्तिसामग्र्यो रत्यादयः
स्थायिनः, तद्विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिभावाश्च । स च करुणः अभिव्यंजक-
भेदेन शृङ्गारहास्येत्यादिविभिन्नव्यवहारपात्रतामापद्यते । तमिममेव भावमभिप्रेत्य
भगवान्भवभूतिः—

‘एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तभेदा-

द्विजः पृथक्पृथगिवाश्रयते विवर्तान् ।

आवर्तबुद्बुदतरङ्गमयान्विकारः

अम्भो यथा सलिलमेव तु तत्समप्रम ॥’ इत्यम्यथात् ।

तदेवं अभिव्यक्तरसस्वरूपेण करुणैकताननैव रसानां लक्ष्यत इति समसाधयाम । अद्यत्वे पुनरालङ्कारिकसम्भतरसामिव्यञ्जकरांतितोऽपि करुणात्मता समेषां विद्यत एव सूक्ष्मया दृशा विलोकने इत्येतदुपपादयामः । तत्रादिमस्तावदा-
चकास्ति शृङ्गारः । ‘न विना विप्रलम्भेन शृङ्गारः पुष्टिमश्नुते’ इतीयमालंकारि-
काणामुक्तिरेवास्य रसस्य करुणावष्टम्भकतामाविकरोति । उक्तेरस्या अयमर्थः —
शृङ्गारो हि रस्यमानताप्राणस्तदैव जायेत यदा चित्ताभोगे अङ्कुरिता
रतिः आलम्बनविषयकबहुविधबहुमानचिन्तासलिलेनानवरतमासिच्यमाना क्रमशः
शाखोपशाखमभिवृद्धा व्यभिचार्यादिमन्दपवनस्पन्दनदृढाक्रियमाणमूला बहुना
कालेन फलोन्मुखी सम्पद्येत इति । तत्कथमिव नायिकानायकयोः
प्रथम एव समागमे निरुक्तो रसः प्रभवेत् ? तत्र हि नास्ति बहूकृतः परस्परा-
लम्बनो भावः । तत्कीदृशोऽत्र रसोत्पादः ? न हि लता अङ्कुरितमात्रैव फलति ।
एवं प्रथमदर्शनेन तत्कालमङ्कुरिता रतिः कथं रसफलं सुवीत ? बहुकालानुवृत्त-
समागमेन यद्यप्यस्ति संभोगशृङ्गाराख्यस्य रसस्योत्पत्त्यवकाशः । अथापि
अनुकूलेन विप्रलम्भेनैव तत्रापि रतिं रसात्मना परिणमयति निपुणः कविरित्येवा-
लक्ष्यते । अतश्चैतत् सिध्यति विप्रलम्भाद्विना न कदापि शृङ्गारस्य रस्यमानतेति ।
विप्रलम्भे च निःश्रेणिकासाधारण्येन दुःखमेव विद्योतते नान्यत् । तस्य च
शोकपर्यायत्वात् शोकेनैव शृङ्गारस्य परिपोष इति पर्यवस्यति । ततश्च कथं
शृङ्गारः करुणाद्विप्रकृष्येत । अयमत्र प्रकारः—सामिलाषदर्शनानन्तरं पुन-
स्तदलाभेनोदीपितः शोकः परिवर्धमानो रतिमात्मनि बृंहयन् पर्यन्ते रसात्मता-
मेतीति । अत्र च संवादा दृश्यन्ते—‘शृङ्गं च मन्मथोन्माथस्तदागमनहेतुकः’
‘शृणाति चरमदशाप्रापणेन हिनस्ति कामुकानिति शृङ्गं मन्मथोन्माथः ।
इह शृङ्गपदस्योत्कर्षार्थलभेऽपि योगजशक्त्या मरणावधिको मान्मथो व्यापर
इति सूच्यते । शृङ्गमृच्छतीति शृङ्गारः । अथवा शृङ्गं राति ददातीति शृङ्गारः’ ।
इत्यादयः ॥

अपरस्तजन्यो हास्यः । शृङ्गारजन्यत्वेनैवास्य विशेषतः करुणाद-
नतिरेकः समर्थनीयः । शृङ्गारस्य तदात्मत्वेनैव गतार्थत्वात् । तथा हि—हासा-

रूपोऽस्य स्थायी अस्थानगतरत्यादिभिरुद्धोध्यते । अतो नु अनुचितं शृङ्गारं हासपदमावेदयन्ति विदग्धाः । ततः शृङ्गारात्मकतयैवास्य न करुणान्तर्भावे विशेषतो बन्धीमो दृष्टिम् । शृङ्गारव्यतिरिक्तस्थले हास्यस्य उदयेऽपि शृङ्गारपदमुपलक्षणीकृत्य अस्थानगतानां सर्वेषामेव रसानां हास्यात्मकत्व-मङ्गीकरणीयम् । अतश्च अन्येषां रसानां करुणोदितत्वं समर्थयद्विरस्माभिः हास्यस्यापि तदात्मकत्वं समर्थितमेव भवति ॥

अन्यो रौद्रः । अस्य च स्थायी क्रोधः । अर्यादिभिराहितादपकारा-दुपजातो मनसस्ताप एव मूलं क्रोधस्येति नेदीयन् समेषामनुभवः । अयं हि मनस्तापः लेशतोऽभिवृद्धः शोकपदवाच्यतां प्रपद्यते । अतः करुणकारण-जन्यतयास्यापि करुणानुवेधो दुर्वारः ॥

परस्ताद्वीरः—उत्साहश्चास्य स्थायी । उत्कर्षेण साहयति क्लेशान्स्वार्थ-निर्वहणायेत्युत्साहः । समन्ततः सन्निपातिनामपि क्लेशानां तृणीकरणेन कार्यो-न्मुखमेव प्रवर्तमानो हि पुरुषः उत्साहवानारुणायत इत्यलंकारकाराः । युक्तं चैददाभाति । यस्तु युद्धोपजनितानि दुःखानि बहूकुर्वन् निलीयत एकान्ते, स खलु भयानकस्य विषयः । न पुनर्वीरस्य । सुमहदपि दुःखजालं तूलीकृत्य मनसापि तदनाकलयन्निव प्रवर्तमानो हि पुरुषधैरयो वीरगोचरः । समरविजयी हेतिललितः' इति न्यायेन समरेषु समधिकदुःखसहनेनापि प्रतियुध्यमानस्य हि योधस्य उत्साहाश्रयत्वं निदर्शयन्ति । एवं युद्धवीरस्य दुःखानुभवमूलामभिव्यक्ति-मङ्गीकुर्मः ॥

एवं दानवीरोऽपि—न कदापि कर्णः कवचं कुण्डलं च प्रयच्छन्नि-न्द्राय, मरणान्ताय दुःखाय असन्नह्यंश्च भुवने दानवीरः प्रथेत । ईदृशो दया वीरोऽपि शिबिस्वशरीरकर्तनव्यथां ततस्स्वशरीरवियोगदुःखं चाविगणय्य श्येन-विषये प्रावर्तत कपोतत्राणनाय । सत्यवीरश्च हरिश्चन्द्रः स्मरणेनापि मनसः क्षोभमावहतां सुमहतां खेदानामनुभवेनापि दृढमुत्साहमाविर्व्यधात् सत्ये । तदेवं सर्वोऽपि वीरः करुणकारणादेवोत्पद्यमानो न करुणाद्विप्रकर्षमश्नुते । पूर्वोदितेषु रसेषु अभिव्यञ्जकत्वेन दुःखमेव निविष्टं, न शोकः । ततः कुतोऽत्र करुणावसरः ? दुःखशोकयोर्भेदादिति प्रत्यवस्थीयेत तदेदमुत्तरम्—शोको यथा अनभिव्यक्तकरुणरूपः करुणाङ्कुरत्वेन तस्य स्थायितां भजते, तथा दुःखमपि

शोकाङ्कुरायमाणमास्ते । अतः दुःखशोकयोरयं भेदोऽकिंचित्कर एव ।
विमृश्यमाने चादितः करुणस्य दुःखमूलत्वं लक्ष्येतैव ॥

इतरो भयानको भयपरिणतिजन्मा । भयं च भीत्यालम्बनजन्य-
दुःखभावनाभावितान्तःकरणवृत्त्यात्मकमेवेति समे स्वरसती जानन्ति ।
रौद्रशक्त्यादिजनितं चित्तवैक्लव्यदं भयम् इति तल्लक्षणमामनन्ति । इतरथा
कुतः कथं वा जनस्य भयोपजनिः । अनिष्टलेशोऽपि यत्र न
संभाव्येत तत्र सर्वे स्वयमेव प्रवर्तेरन् । अन्यथा प्रवृत्ता अपि निवर्तेरन्नेव ।
अतोऽयमपि रसो दुःखादेव विवर्धत इति विशदमेव ॥

समनन्तरो रसो बीभत्साख्यो जुगुप्साप्राणकः । जुगुप्सा दोषेक्षणादि-
भिर्जायमानः अप्रीतिनिमित्तकचित्तवृत्तिविशेषः । यदा हि जुगुप्स्यमांस-
वसादिकमध्यक्षयति तदोद्भिद्यते तस्मिन्प्रीत्यभावात्मकः खेदः । स च क्रमतो-
ऽभिवर्धमानो जुगुप्सापदव्यवहारमर्हति । अतोऽत्रापि अभिव्यञ्जककोटौ करुणा-
ङ्गानुप्रवेशः सुलक्ष एव ॥

अद्भुतश्च रसः न स्वातन्त्र्येणात्मानमितरेभ्यो लभत इति स नार्हति
विशेषतो निर्देशम् । यतः 'विविधेषु पदार्थेषु लोकसीमातिवर्तिषु । विस्फारश्चेतसो
यस्तु स विस्मय उदाहृतः' ॥ इत्युक्तरूपविस्मयपरिमाणामः सः । सोऽयं विस्मयः
निरुक्तरत्यादिभावगत एव सर्वत्रानुभूयते । एतदुक्तं भवति, रत्यादिभावा एव
यदा लोकसीमातिवर्तिनः तदा विस्मयविषया भवन्ति इति विस्मयो न वस्तुतो
रत्यादिभ्योऽतिरिच्यते । विस्मयव्यपदेशदशायां रत्यादयः विस्फुरितेन चेतसानु-
भूयन्त इति अतोऽद्भुतो रसो न पार्थक्येन करुणानुगतो व्यपदेश्च युक्तः ।
अतः इममेकमेव रसमाचष्ट धर्मदत्तः । अद्भुतस्य चमत्कृत्येकरूपत्वात् अन्येषां
च रसानां चमत्कृतिसारत्वादेव अद्भुतात्मकत्वं पुरस्तात्प्रत्यपादयाम ॥

अन्तिमः शमस्थायिकः शान्तो रसः । स च शमः सर्वेषु पदार्थेषु
दुःखानुभावनं विना वैराग्यद्वारा नोत्पद्येतेत्यानुभाविकमेवेदम् । अनुभूतशोकस्य
हि वैराग्यं विरूढमूलमास्ते । वैराग्याच्चोपरत्यात्मकः शमः । ततश्च शान्तो
रस इति तत्राप्यस्ति करुणानुप्रवेशः । अथैतेषां रसानां ध्वंसात्मता, प्रागभा-
वात्मता वा शान्तस्य इष्यत इति मतं तत्र चात्मैव शान्तो रस इति तस्य करुणात्म-
कत्वे नास्त्येव विवादः । एवमखिलेषु रसेषु साक्षात्परम्परया वा करुणानुप्रवेशः
विलसत्येव । ततश्च सुष्ठु खल्वभ्यधायि भगवता कविविधसा एको रसः करुण

एवेत्यादि । एतावता करुणस्य सर्वरसाधिष्ठानता प्रत्यपादि । तदनेन वर्त्मना सर्वरसव्यञ्जकानां करुणरसव्यञ्जकत्वे सिद्धेऽपि शोकहृदयस्य स्थायिनः इतरापेक्षया करुणसंनिकृष्टत्वात् तत्स्थायिकः करुण इति आलंकारिका आमनन्ति । इतरेषु च रसेषु शोकादीनां करुणकारणत्वेन सम्मतानां अभिव्यञ्जकत्वेनानुप्रवेशः सूक्ष्मेक्षिकानिर्ग्राह्यः इति तत्तत्स्थूलाभिव्यञ्जकभेदेन तत्तद्रसत्वेन निर्देशः इति पर्यवस्यति ।

ननु वाचकास्सहृदया एतावता प्रयत्नसंसादितेन मार्गेण सर्वरसानुप्रवेशः करुणस्य, ततस्सर्वेषां करुणविवर्तता च निरणायि इति मा नाम मनस्सु भवतामत्र वस्तुतत्वेऽसंभावनोदीयात् । यथा सामुद्रेषु तरङ्गेषु जलात्मता साधयितुं सुशका न तथा मुक्ताफलस्य तदात्मता, प्रत्युत साध्यमानापि असंभावनापदवीमेवानुधवेत् । अतस्सुसूक्ष्मं वस्तुतत्वं क्लेशेनैवास्मृष्टशां परिमितमतीनां प्रतिपादयितुं योग्यमिति न भवेद्यथोक्तस्य वस्तुनोऽन्यथाभावः ॥

किं च रामायणमादिकाव्यं सर्वरससंकुलमपि करुणप्रधानमवतारयितुमिच्छता भगवता वेधसा बल्मीकजन्मनः चेतस्याभोगे करुणात्मको ह्यङ्कुरः निरुतः । मानिषादेत्यादिरामायणमूलपथं करुणं नु विकिरति । ततो हि अभिनवगुप्ताचार्याः रसः परिपूर्णकुभोच्छलनवत् चित्तवृत्तिनिष्पन्दस्वभाववाग्बिलापादिवत् समयानपेक्षित्वेऽपि चित्तवृत्तिव्यञ्जकत्वादिनयेन अकृतकतयेवावेशवशात् समुचितच्छन्दोवृत्तादिनियन्त्रितः श्लोकरूपतां प्राप्तः मा निषादेत्यादि' इत्यभ्यधुः । यथा कृत्स्नस्य रामायणस्याङ्कुरायितमिदं पथं तथा तद्गुणरसानामपि एतत्पद्यनिष्पन्दी रसो मूलभूत इति निश्चिनुमहे । वेधसोऽप्यत्र सम्मतिरेधेत यतस्तादृक्पद्यमवतारयामास । तत्कविश्रेष्ठोऽयं निर्धार्य सुसूक्ष्मं सर्वं इदं तत्त्वं अभ्यधादेको रस इत्यादि इति सिद्ध्यति ॥

अत्रैवमाक्षिप्यते यथा कविरयं करुणं सर्वप्राधान्येनाभिमान्यत इति कुतः कथं वाव' च्छमः । नास्य दृश्ये कस्मिंश्चिदपि तं प्राधान्येन वर्णितमुपलभामहे । तथाहि मालत्यां शृङ्गारः । वीरचरिते वीरः । उत्तरे चरिते विप्रलम्बपोषितरस एव शृङ्गारः । सत्येवं प्रबन्धत्रये स्वीये कुत्राप्येतं रसं अङ्गिनमनादधतः अभिमततमोऽयं रस इति कथमिव वक्तुं पार्येत । अथ रामोत्तरे चरिते विलसत्यस्य सिद्धान्तविषयो रस इति साध्यते ; हन्त कुत्र वा नास्ति अयं रसः । 'एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केन चित् । शृङ्गारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी

किमु' । इति शृङ्गारवर्णयितृत्वेन सुप्रसिद्धस्यापि कालिदासस्य ग्रन्थे किमु नो-
पलभ्यतेऽयं रसः ? । येनोच्चैरुद्बुध्यते भवभूतिरेव प्रभवति करुणवर्णने इति ।
अथत्र प्रधानतया वर्णितः करुणः न कालिदासीये दृश्ये दृश्यते इति अभिधीयते,
तत्समीचीन एवायं हेतुरस्य कवेः श्लाघायाम् । अथापि नाध्यक्ष्यस्येते प्रति-
पक्षिणोऽत्र करुणं प्रधानम् । 'वीरशृङ्गारयोरेकः प्रधानं यत्र वर्ण्यते । प्रख्यात-
नायकोपेतं नाटकं तदुदाहृतम्' । इत्यभियुक्तोक्त्या वीरशृङ्गारयोरन्यतर एव
वर्णनीयः दृश्ये । सति चैवं पारम्पर्यतः श्रोत्रियशिखामणिः कविरसौ कुतो वा
कारणादभियुक्तोक्तिं तृणयेत् । तृणीकृत्य निबध्नन् करुणात्मना दृश्यं कथं सद्भि-
राद्रियेत ? अनियमेन ग्रथितस्य चास्य नाटकस्य कथमिव नाटकत्वं सिधेत् ।

किं च करुणो हि शोकस्थायिकः । स च अमङ्गलप्रायः । तस्य च
सदाचारप्रवर्तनपरत्वेन प्रवर्तिते दृश्यवर्त्मनि निवेशः सुतरामेव न युज्येत ।
सदाचारप्रवर्तनं प्रयोजनमाकलयद्भिर्हि नाटकादिगोष्ठी प्रवर्तितेति आनन्द-
वर्धनाचार्या अभिप्रयन्ति । अतो न युक्तमिदमाभाति यत् तेन कविना निबद्ध-
मपि ऐदंपर्येण शृङ्गारमवधूय तत्रारोप्य करुणं कवयितुरप्यशःसमार्जनमिति । एवं
करुणं तत्र प्रसाधयन्तस्ते न तद्दृश्यविमर्शकाः इत्येव वक्तुमुचितम् । तथाह्यत्र
प्रत्यक्षमेव शृङ्गारमुपलभामहे । स च सीतापरित्यागात्पूर्वं प्रथमेऽङ्के संभोगात्मनो-
पक्षिप्तः । अनन्तरं सविस्तरं विप्रलम्भेन परां कोटिमारोपितः । मध्ये च तृतीयाङ्के
लेशतः संभोगमुपक्षिप्य विप्रलम्भः अभूतपूर्वेण पथा सरसं परिपोषितः । तथाविधमुप-
बृंहितः शृङ्गारः अन्ते कविना संभोगात्मना निरूढश्च । तथा हि निर्वहणसन्धौ
कवयिता रामायणोक्तकथाभागमपि ध्वनिकारदिदर्शनमनुरुध्य प्रतिभान-
प्रकर्षेण सहृदयसंवादानुसारं परेण प्रयत्नेन संभोगशृङ्गारं निरुवाह । तदलं
कवितल्लजेऽस्मिन् वृथापवादमुपक्षिप्य दोषगवेषणया । तथाह्यत्र भावार्थदीपिकाकारो
नारायणः 'नायिकानायकयोः इतरतरानुरागस्फुटांकरणस्यैव रसिकजनरसायन-
त्वात् तस्य च विप्रलम्भपराकाष्ठायामेव संभवात् प्रियतमापरित्यागसमभिष्यंजि-
स्य संभोगपर्यन्तत्वे फलतो विप्रलम्भरूपत्वात् विप्रलम्भकरुणयोः माधुर्यस्य प्रकर्षव-
त्वाच्च सीतापरित्यागात्मकमिति'वृत्तं रसिकजनशिखामणिः भवभूतिः पर्यग्रहीदि-
त्यभिधत्ते । तदेतावता रामोत्तरचरिते प्रधानः शृङ्गार एव, न पुनः करुण इति
फलितम् ॥

अत्रैवं समाधिरभिधीयते । किमिदं 'वीरशृङ्गारयो' रित्यादिलक्षणिकानां
वचनं वेदवाक्यमिव तथैव संग्राह्यं, आहो युक्तिसंयोजनस्याप्यस्यवसरः इति

काव्ये स्वतन्त्रतया' इति न्यायेन कविशक्तेरानन्यात् अमङ्गलप्रायमपि कवयिता मङ्गलप्रायमादध्यात् । तत्कविशक्तिमसंभाव्य अनालोच्य च लाक्षणिकमर्यादां नैको रसः पृथक्कर्तव्यः । रामोत्तरचरिते अन्तर्नाटिकायां करुण एव रस इति अयं कविर्व्यक्तमभिधत्ते । यथा सूत्रधारः, 'प्राचेतसः आज्ञापयति यदिद-
मस्माभिरार्षेण चक्षुषा समुद्दीक्ष्य पावनं वचनामृतं करुणाद्भुतरसं च किञ्चिदुप-
निबद्धं तत्र सगौरवमवधातव्य'मिति । यद्यस्य कवेरप्ययं नाटके अनभिमतः करुणः
कथमेवं भाषेतेति भवन्त एव विदांकुर्वन्तु ॥

तदेवं दृश्ये करुणस्य असांगत्यपरिहारेऽपि प्रकृते रूपके शृङ्गार एव निबद्ध इत्यत्र किमस्ति बाधकम् ? इत्यनुयुज्यमाने कवेरस्याशयः समालोचनीयः
लेशत इत्येव प्रार्थयामः । प्रकृतः कवयिता वाल्मीकजन्मनि निरतिशयभक्तिमान्
तत्कृतश्रव्यं प्रबन्धं दृश्यात्मना जग्न्येति अवश्यमेवेष्टव्यम् । ततो नु वीरचरिते
'प्राचेतसो मुनिवृषा प्रथमः कवीनां यत्पावनं रघुपतेः प्रणिनाय वृत्तम् । भक्तस्य
तत्र समरन्त ममापि वाचः तासु प्रसन्नमनसः कृतिनो भजन्ताम्' ॥ इति ।
अत्रास्य भक्तिवद्भूतस्य भावस्योपलब्ध्यैव उत्तरचरिते आदावेव निबद्धस्य 'इदं
कविभ्यः पूर्वैभ्यः' इत्यस्य, 'पूर्वकविशब्देन वाल्मीकिरेव कविना बहुमानात्
निर्दिष्टः' इति कस्यचन व्याख्यानं न वयं निषेद्धुं प्रभवामः । स एवं तद्भक्तः
कविः वाल्मीकवर्णनविषयीभूतं रामायणवस्तु, श्रव्यात्मना ग्रथने पौनरुक्त्या-
द्विभ्यदिव दृश्यात्मना ग्रथितवान् । आदर्शभूते च रामायणे करुण एव रस इति
प्रत्यपादयाम । अथापि स रसः प्राधान्येन सर्वांगव्यापी उत्तरे चरित एव समाच-
कास्ति । यतो गतानुगतिको लोकः पूर्वोक्तामङ्गलाशंसया तत्पारायणादपि विभ्यत्
पट्टाभिषेकप्रकाराणान्निवर्तते । पट्टाभिषेकान्ते च काण्डषट्के करुणस्य लेशत
एवोन्मीलनात् वीर एव परमुत्कटः प्रतिभासते । रघुवरस्य अत्यन्तवीरायितं
निखिलमपि चेष्टितं तत्रैव पर्याप्तमेधते । काण्डसप्तकस्याप्येकवाक्यतायां यद्यपि
करुणः प्रधानो व्यवतिष्ठते तत्र च वीरः मुख्यमङ्गम् । अथापि रामायणं
पूर्वोत्तरभागात्मना प्रभिन्नं वीरकरुणरसप्रधानत्वेन व्यपदेश्यं भवति । अतस्त-
द्भक्तोऽयं कविः प्रथमं चरितं वीरप्राधान्येन अप्रथनात् । उत्तरं च चरितं करुणात्म-
कमिति वक्तुमस्त्यवकाशः । तथाहि—वीरचरितस्यामुखे 'तेनेदमुद्धृतजगत्रयमन्यु-
मूलं अस्तोकवीरगुरुसाहसमद्भुतं च । वीराद्भुतप्रियतया रघुनन्दनस्य धमद्बुद्धे
दमयितुश्चरितं निबद्धम्' ॥ इति वादिना प्रतिज्ञातमेव वीरचरिते वीर एव रसः
इति । अयं हि कविः सर्वत्र प्रतिपादनीयस्य रसस्य ग्रन्थादावेव प्रतिपादयन्वि-

लाक्यते । यतो मालत्यामपि 'भूम्ना रसानां गहनाः प्रयोगाः सौहार्दद्वयानि विचेष्टितेति । औद्धत्यमायोजितकामसूत्रं चित्राः कथा वाचि विदग्धता च' ॥ इति शृङ्गारं प्रतिजानीते । अथैवं प्रतिज्ञानशीलोऽपि नोत्तरचरितादौ करुणं प्रतिजज्ञे । नापि शृङ्गारम् । विमर्शकमनःक्षोभमाधातुमेवैवं न प्रतिज्ञातवानिव । वयं तु पश्यामः उत्तरचरितादावप्रस्तुवानोऽपि एनं रसं वीरचरितान्ते नैव न प्रास्तावीत् । दृश्योरनयोः एकनतुल्येन अविच्छेदमाकलय्यैव वीरचरितान्ते लेशतः प्रत्यपादयदिति तर्कयामः । उत्तरचरितादौ च वृत्तकथाप्रस्तावे वीरचरितानुपूर्वीमेव कक्षीकरोति । वीरचरिते सप्तमेऽङ्के महेश्वरः राममाशासनः 'एतावन्तं त्वया कालं युद्धवीरोऽवलम्बितः । धर्मदान-दयावीरास्त्वामिदानीमुपस्थिताः' ॥ इत्येवमभिव्यक्ते । सीतां विवासयन् रघूद्वहः धर्मवीरं अभिनीय क्लिष्टं प्रादर्शयत् । अत्र एवोत्तरे नाटके 'स्नेहं दयां च सौख्यं च यदि वा जानकीमपि । आराधनाय लोकस्य मुञ्चतो नास्ति मे व्यथा' इति व्याहरति । अपि च कवयिता रामात् विजघटयिषुरेव सीतां अभिषेककाले बहुभिर्बहुधा आशिषः कारयन् न कस्यापि मुखेन सीतया सह सुखमास्वेति वाचयति । वाचिते च 'न हीश्वरव्याहृतयः कदाचित्पुण्यन्ति लोके विपरीतमर्थ' इति नीत्या सीतावियोगविषयः करुणः नावकाशं लभेत । यदि विप्रलम्भ एवाभिप्रेतः अन्ते च समागमः तदात्वे नास्याशिषस्तत्राप्रसक्तिर्युज्येत । यतः अल्पकालावधि विप्रलम्भेऽपि तदनन्तरं महतां वाक्यावैयर्थ्याय भविष्यत्येव समागमः । तेन च सुखम् । विनैतं भावं कथमिव कवी रामभक्तः सह सीतया सुखमेधीत्याशिषं न वादेयत् । अनेवंभावोऽपि यदि नामैवं आशिषं कर्तुं विस्मरेत् कविः हन्त वञ्चित एव तदात्वे स्यादयं विफलया कवितया । यद्यस्य रामविषय-शृङ्गारवर्णन एवैदम्पर्यः न तस्य पूर्वस्मिन्निव चरिते उत्तरस्मिन्नस्य व-काशः । यदि तादृशं कथाभागं शृङ्गारवर्णनं नुकूलमवधूय अयमेव भागो गृह्येत हन्त भवभूतेः पाठवमन्यादृशमाविष्कृतं भवेत् । पूर्वचरिते धीरोदात्तस्य न-व्यतारुण्यस्य रामस्य सीतागतरतिभाववर्णनं हि रसं सपरीवाहं पुष्णीयात् । उत्तरे तु राघवः धर्मैकनिष्ठः अनतिक्रान्तयौवनोऽपि प्रायशोऽनुभूततारुण्य-फलः धर्मवीरोचितो भासते । नव्ययौवनविशेषिते पुरुषगौरये इव यौवनस्य द्वितीयं भागमधितिष्ठति वर्ण्यमाना रतिः न स्वदेतेत्यत्र रसिका एव प्रमाणम् । अपि चोत्तरे चरिते 'अनिर्मितो गभीरत्वादन्तर्गूढधनव्यथः । पुटपाकप्रतीकाशः रामस्य करुणो रसः' इत्यादिभिः वचनैः करुणमेव प्रकृतं व्यनाक्ति तत्र तत्र, न

शृङ्गारम् । अत एव 'एको रसः करुण एव'त्यादि पद्यं प्रकृतदृश्यरसनिर्धारणे कुञ्चिकायितमाख्याति कोऽप्याङ्गलव्याख्याना । अयं च कविः आदित प्रभृति आदृश्यसमाप्ति करुणमविच्छेदेन निर्वोदुं कादृशं प्रयत्नमास्थितवान् इति अस्य वर्णनरीतिविवेचनावसरे स्पष्टयामः । अन्ते सीतासमागमस्यापि घटितत्वात् शृङ्गार एव रस इति यदभिप्रेतं तत्राप्युत्तरं सुलभमेव । किमन्तिनेनैकेन लेशेन सर्वोऽपि प्रबन्धः विपर्यासमेव्यति । यदि शृङ्गार एवाभिप्रेतः तर्हि कथमिष माल-
त्यामिव अत्रापि न वर्णयेत् । प्रकृतरसवर्णनेऽस्य अन्यादृशी नैपुणीति प्रतिपाद-
यिष्यामहे ॥

किं चायमंशो नाटकेषु भरतवाक्यमिव पृथक्तयैवावभासते इति तत्परिशीलिनामनुभवः । रामभक्त्या तरलितमानसः कविः सीतावियोगेन तथा मूर्च्छन्तं परितपन्तं प्रलपन्तं चोपेक्षितुमसमर्थो भागमिमं घटयामास । अतोऽयं भागः करुणप्राधान्ये लेशतोऽपि बाधं नाश्रास्यति । यदुदितमस्माभिर्वीरचरितानु-
वाद उत्तरचरिते बहुलमुपलभ्यत इति तत्र 'ब्रह्मादयो ब्रह्महिताय तप्त्वा पर-
स्सहस्रं शरदस्तपांसि । एतान्यदर्शन् गुरवः पुराणाः स्वान्येव तेजांसि तपो-
मयानि' ॥ 'जनकानां रघूणां च सम्बन्धः कस्य न प्रियः । यत्र दाता प्रहीता
च स्वयं कुशिकनन्दनः' । इत्यादि सुबहु विद्यत इति विस्तरभयान्न तत्संग्रहणे प्रयत्नतेऽस्माभिः । अन्यच्च चित्रदर्शनावसरे वीरचरितोपक्षितामेव कथां प्रस्तु-
वानः तद्विरुद्धं अन्यग्रन्थत उपलभ्यमानं कथाभागमप्रस्तुवानश्च कवयि-
ता तयोरेकचरितत्वमभिप्रेतीति नायं वक्तव्योऽशः । तदियता प्रपञ्चेन उत्तरराम-
चरितनाटके करुण एवाङ्गी, शृङ्गारदयश्च अङ्गभूता इति निर्णयामः ॥

अथेदानीं एतदीयकरुणस्य अन्यदीयात्तस्माद्भेदोपदर्शनाय तद्वर्णना-
शैलीमत्रोपहरामः । कविरयं विनैवान्यरसस्य विशेषतः सम्बन्धं प्रकृतं रसं
पुपोषति, पुष्यति च सर्वत्रेतिनेदं गूढतमं तद्ग्रन्थशीलिनाम् । तथाहि
वीरचरिते आदिमस्य कथाभागस्य सुविस्तरस्य सत्वेऽपि रामगतस्य वीरस्य
वर्णनाय विश्वामित्रसमागमानन्तरमेव विद्यतेऽवकाश इति तत एव दृश्यमारभते ।
मध्ये च सीताविवाहानन्तरं अयोध्यामागतस्य विस्तरतो वर्णनीयस्यापि शृङ्गारस्य
लेशत एव वर्णनमाधत्ते, अल्पीयसोऽपि जामदग्न्यवृत्तान्तस्य अङ्कद्वयाधिकेन
भागेन । ततो वनप्रस्थानं राममुखेन प्रस्तुवानः मन्थरागमनेन समर्थयंश्च
तत्रत्यं महान्तं करुणाब्धिं कुत्रापि चुलुकयति । एवमयं प्रकृतरससमर्थनपरः
तत्र तत्र अप्रकृतमङ्गभूतमपि रसं विशिष्य नादत्ते । एवं मालत्यामपि शृङ्गारम् ।

किं बहुना, प्रायः प्रत्यक्षं प्रकृतरसनिष्पन्नो नैतदीये काव्ये इवान्यत्र द्रष्टुं सुशकः । अथापि सर्वत्र प्रकृतरसवर्णने जागरूकमपि कविं बलादवधूयेयं करुणः परं उद्भिद्य निर्गतो विलोक्यते इति विशदनीय एवायं विषयः । अयं सर्वानपि रसान्पृथगाधाय प्रकृतमेव पारम्येण पोषयति । अथाप्यदसीयोक्तिः प्रकृतरसपोषणव्यप्रापि सती, एकतः प्रकृतं रसं अन्यतः करुणं च स्नाययतीति महाननेन करुणस्य सम्बन्धः । तथा ह्युत्तरे चरिते पञ्चमैऽके प्रवृद्धे महाह्वोन्मुखे वीरे लवोदितानि विक्रान्तवचनानि तदुचितं वीरं रसं पुष्पन्त्यपि प्रकरणज्ञैः पूर्वोत्तरपरामर्शकैः लवं च रामसुतं विजानद्भिः विशेषतः सीतारामवृत्तस्मरणोपजनितः करुण एवानुभूयते । न केवलमत्रैव यावद्वीरचरिते मालत्यां चैवमेव विलोक्यते । तथाहि वीरचरिते तृतीयैऽके तपोवीरस्य स्फुरितकोपस्य विश्वामित्रस्य जामदग्न्यं प्रत्युक्तौ 'ब्रह्मक्षत्रसमाजमाक्षिपसि यद्वत्से च घोराशयः' इत्यादि पद्यं वीरकरुणौ युगपत्स्त्रावयति । अत्र वत्से घोराशयत्वं यद्यपि विशेषतः कोपकारणम्, अथापि वत्सघोराशयपदे कामपि करुणस्य काष्ठां व्यङ्ग्यः । तथा वसिष्ठोक्तौ 'कामं हि नः स्वजन एष तथापि दर्पात् घोरं व्यवस्यति कथं तु भवेदवश्यः । सन्दूषितेन च मया सकृदीक्षितश्चेत् वत्सस्य भार्गवशिशोः दुरितं हि तस्यात्' वत्सस्य भार्गवशिशोरित्यादौ करुणस्सविशेषो लक्ष्यते । एवं प्रायशः परामृश्यमाने करुणानुबन्धः अविच्छिन्नो विभाव्येत । मालत्यां प्रथमाङ्के शृङ्गाररसस्यन्दिनि माधवोदीरिते 'सन्तापसन्ततिमहाव्यसनाये'त्यादि पद्येऽपि इयमेव कथा । सर्वेषां रसानामङ्गभावे श्रद्धधानोऽपि करुण-कक्षीकारे अवश एव अवदधाति । मालत्यां विप्रलम्भात्मना शृङ्गारं बहूकारिण्युः करुणमवतार्य शतशो मूर्च्छयति माधवम् । वनस्थलीं च वस्तुत एव रोदयन् वज्रस्यापि दलति हृदयम् । दशमाङ्कादौ कामन्दक्यादिगतत्वेन करुणमेव रसं सविशेषमुत्कर्षयति । पञ्चमे च बीभत्समन्तरा करुणमवतार्य मालतीगतेन तेनैव शृङ्गारमवतारयति । एवं वीरचरिते सीतावियोगे रामगतं विप्रलम्भं करुणात्मकमेव वर्णयति । तथा च लक्ष्मणोक्तिः 'शोकाग्निरिव जङ्गमः' इति । एवं वियोगतप्तस्यापि जड्यालम्बनं करुणं विस्तृणाति । तदेवं करुणवशङ्गतस्य कवेः करुणात्मकेतिवृत्तप्रणयने सर्वतः श्लाघनीयं हि वैदग्ध्यम् । ततः स्थाने हि कालिदासो वदति 'नाटके भवभूतिर्वा वयं वा वयमेव वा । उत्तरे रामचरिते भवभूतिर्विशिष्यते' इति । सत्यमेव सहृदयाः 'अरसस्सरसो भवेद्भवं रसिकोऽपि द्रुततामवाप्नुयादि'ति रसनक्रमः अव्यभिचारेण भवभूतीयादन्यत्र कुत्र नाम समुपलभ्येत । उत्तरचरिताव-

लोकने हि प्रतिपदं क्षतसेतुवन्धन इवौघः प्रस्रवति करुणः । शम्बूकवधावसरे प्रयुक्तं 'रे हस्त दक्षिण मृतस्य शिशोर्द्विजस्ये'ति पद्यं कस्य वा कीदृशं वा हृदय-ग्रन्थि न भेदयति । तृतीयाङ्के प्रवर्तितं प्रावरोदनं चास्माकं समेषां प्रत्यक्षमेव । प्रथमाङ्कोपक्षितानि 'त्वया जगन्ति पुण्यानि त्वय्यपुण्या जनोक्तयः । नाथवन्तस्त्वया लोकास्त्वमनाथा विपत्स्यसे ॥' 'प्रियां लुब्धना परिददामि मृत्यवे सौनिके गृह-शकुन्तिकामिव' 'अपूर्वकर्मचण्डालमयि मुग्धे विमुञ्च माम् । श्रितासि चन्दनभ्रान्त्या दुर्विपाकं त्रिषद्रुमम् ॥' 'आतङ्कस्फुरितकठोरगर्भगुर्वी कव्याद्भयो बलिमिव दारुणः क्षिपामि' इत्यादिपद्यानि स्मर्यमाणान्यपि तत्क्षणेमेव रसपरवशमादधते हृदयम् । करुणात्मकस्य कवेः करुणात्मके सन्दर्भे स्थलविशेषे करुणाविष्करणं हासैक-निदानमापद्येत । तदत्रत्यान् द्वित्रान् विशेषान्परमपवर्णयामः । पञ्चमेऽङ्के लवगत-वीररसप्रस्तावे रामाधिक्षेपेण प्रकृतनायकापकर्षः कृतः कविना न शोभाभावहति इति केषांचिद्दोषारोपणं न सामीचीन्यमेति । यतो राघवः सगर्भायास्सीताया विपत्तिमालोच्य आत्मानमप्रतिष्ठं मन्वानः परितपति । तदात्वे तस्य पुत्रापरामभवे वर्ण्यमाने कोऽपि अपूर्वो रसपरीवाह अनुभूयत एव सामाजिकैः । सुमन्त्रोऽपि कथंचिदेवमाशङ्क्य तत्रासंभावनां 'लतायां पूर्वलूनायां प्रसवस्योद्भवः कुतः' इत्यादिना विवृण्वन् किमु करुणं न व्यनक्ति ? लवचन्द्रकेत्वोश्च युद्धसमुदाचारः उदार एव सन् पूर्ववृत्तमनुस्मारयन् सहृदयश्लाघ्य एव । अतो नात्रालपमप्यनौ-चित्यं पञ्चमाङ्कप्रस्तावे निभालयामः । वीरचरितान्तप्रतिपादितनीत्या धर्मवीर-तैवात्र निदानं समस्यापि करुणवृत्तस्य । तदेवं नैकोऽपि कविः ईदृक् करुणात्मकः एतावतापि कालेन नाविर्भाववन्त्यामिति अस्य महाकवेः 'उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा' इति वचनप्रामाण्येन तादृशं महार्घं कालं प्रतिपालयामहे । तथाहि विश्वविदितः कालिदासोऽपि अस्य रसस्य वर्णने भवभूतेः शततमीमपि कलां नाह्वीतीति सन्धीरमभिदध्महे । अतो नु कोऽपि रसिकशिखामणिः, यदि शाकुन्तलपञ्चमाकं भवभूतिर्व्यलिखिष्यत् शकुन्तलां सामाजिकांश्च शतशोऽ-मूर्च्छयिष्यत्' इत्यभ्यधात् । समानोऽयं पन्थास्तार्थवाहवृत्तान्तेऽपि । शाकु-न्तलपेक्षया उत्तररामचरिते चित्तद्रुतिविशेषः विनैव ग्रन्थावलोकनं सुशक्-प्रतिपादयितुम् । तथाहि 'शृङ्गारे त्रिप्रलम्भे च करुणे च प्रकर्षवत् । माधुर्य-मार्द्रतां याति यतस्तत्राधिकं मनः' । इत्यानुभाविकस्तिद्धान्तः । यद्यपि दिङ्नागः कवयिता इदमेवेतिवृत्तं एतद्रसप्राधान्येन सर्वांशसारं कुन्दमालाख्यं विरचितवान् । ततश्च भवभूतेस्साम्येन उत्कर्षेण वा स संस्तूयते । अथापि निम्नेन

भावेन विलोक्यमाने कुन्दमाला बहुभिः अंशैः उत्तररामचरितमनुकरोति,
 लेशतश्च शाकुन्तलमिति स्पष्टमाचकास्ति । अद्यतनैः प्रामाणिकैश्चायं भावस्सम्मत
 एव । अस्माभिस्त्वत्र अस्य विषयस्य सविस्तरं प्रतिपादने अलब्धावकाशैः
 प्रतिज्ञामात्रेणोपरम्यते । तन्नास्त्येव भवभूतेस्समः करुणवर्णने इत्येव निश्चिनुमः ।
 अतः भरतवाक्ये प्रकृतेन कविना सत्यमेवाभ्यधायि 'शब्दब्रह्मविदः कवेः
 परिणतप्रज्ञस्य वाणीमिमामिति ॥

यस्मादिह निरालम्बैः अस्माभिः पारिनिश्चिताः ।

भावाः केऽप्यत्र विद्वद्भिः क्षन्तव्यमसमञ्जसम् ॥

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VEDIC STUDIES

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

§ 1.15. *The Act of Truth in the R̥gveda.*¹

An Act of Truth is the utterance of a proposition that is true with the intention, which may or may not be expressed in words, that the object of the speaker may be realised by such utterance. Prof. E. W. BURLINGAME has published an informative paper on this subject in JRAS. 1917, 429 ff., from which I extract the following passages:

“An Act of Truth is a formal declaration of fact, accompanied by a command or resolution or prayer that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished. For example, a hunter asks a sage how a certain nymph can be captured, and the sage replies: Nymphs can be captured by the utterance of a truth; nor, under such circumstances, have they power to vanish from sight”. Accordingly the hunter says to the nymph he desires to capture: “You are the beautiful daughter of King Druma; if this be true, halt! you are bound fast! If it be true that you are the daughter of King Druma and that you were reared by the king, move not a foot, O fair Manoharā!” By the utterance of this truth on the part of the hunter the nymph addressed is immediately bound fast, and is unable to vanish from sight; but all her companions vanish into the air. . . . A single truth is sufficient; and, as in the examples cited, a truth of the most commonplace sort. As a rule the Act of Truth refers to some such fact as that the agent, or the person on whose behalf the Act is performed, possesses certain good qualities or is free from certain evil qualities; that he has done certain things he ought to have done, or that he has left undone certain things he ought not to do. . . . In connection with the Power of Truth are sometimes mentioned Powers of Righteousness, such as the power of goodness and the power of merit; and as well

1. The abbreviation VVSt is used here to denote the author's *Vedic Studies*, Vol. I. (published in 1932).

the superhuman might of spirits, deities, and Buddhas. Such mention does not mean, however, that the Act of Truth in any way depends for its efficacy upon the co-operation of these other forces, powerful though they are. Truth, in and by itself all-powerful and irresistible, is essentially distinct from them, and operates independently of them. Truth, to the exclusion of any ordinary physical power or cause, is the sole power whereby the conjurer causes rain to fall, fire to turn back, poison to be struck down. There is nothing that cannot be accomplished by the Truth. Men, gods, powers of nature, all animate and inanimate things alike obey the Truth. Even the Buddhas themselves employ Acts of Truth. The Act of Truth commonly takes the form of a spell or charm, most often that of a healing charm . . . it is the stock in trade by which men play, one after another, the parts of wizard, conjurer, magician, physician, surgeon, good Samaritan, rain-maker, prophet, and priest. . . . The Pāli word for "Act of Truth" is *saccakiriya*. . . . The spell is sometimes referred to as a "Truth-Utterance:" Pāli *saccavajja*, Sanskrit *satya-vādyā*; Pāli *saccavacana*, Sanskrit *satyavacana*; Sanskrit *satyopavācana*, *satyavākya*, *satyaśrāvaṇa*. Sometimes it is called simply a "Truth": Pāli *saccam*, Sanskrit *satyam*. The formula used varies considerably. . . . The formal utterance under such circumstances and for such purposes as have been mentioned is in fact a magic art of the most primitive sort. The fundamental concept underlying it is not peculiar to the Buddhists or to the Hindus, but is, and always has been, the common possession of all races of mankind".

It hardly needs to be pointed out that the purpose sought to be accomplished by an act of truth is not, generally, one that can be accomplished by ordinary means. That is to say, the purpose for which an act of truth is employed, is, in most cases, the performance of a miracle;¹ see OLDENBERG'S *Religion des Veda*, p. 519, n. 2.

1. Compare in this connection 2 *Kings*, i, 10-12: "And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty. If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven and consume thee and thy fifty. And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty".

In the paper in question, Prof. BURLINGAME has cited many examples of acts of truth; I shall cite some here, mostly from the epics:

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 2, 64, 40: The father of the ascetic youth killed by King Daśaratha in the forest says:

apāpo'si yathā putra nihataḥ pāpakarmaṇā|
tena satyena gacchāsu ye lokās tvastra-yodhinām||

2. *Mahābhārata*, 3, 269, 21: Draupadī says to her abductor Jayadratha:

yathā vāhaṃ nāticare katham cit
patīn mahārhan manasāpi jāta|
tenādya satyena vaśikṛtaṃ tvām
draṣṭā 'smi pārthaiḥ parikṛṣyamāṇam||

3. *Ibid.*, 8, 98, 45 ff.: Arjuna fits an arrow into his bow and kills Karṇa with it:

tatas tu taṃ vai śaram aprameyaṃ
Gāṇḍīva-dhanvā dhanuṣī vyayojayat|
yuktva mahāstreṇa pareṇa cāpaṃ
vikṛṣya Gāṇḍīvam uvāca satvaram|| 45

ayaṃ mahāstra-prahilo mahā-śaraḥ
śarīrahṛc cāsu-haraś ca durhṛdaḥ|
tapo 'sti taptaṃ guravaś ca toṣitā
mayā yadiṣṭaṃ suhutaṃ yadi śrutam|| 46

anena satyena nihantv ayaṃ śaraḥ
susamhitaḥ Karṇam ariṃ mamorjitaṃ|
ity ūcivāms taṃ pramumoca bāṇam
Dhanaṃjayaḥ Karṇa-vadhāya ghoram|| 47

tenārjunas taṃ mahaniyam asya
śīro 'harat sūta-putrasya rājan|| 50cd

4. *Ibid.* 14, 69, 17-25s Kṛṣṇa revives the dead child of Uttarā:

pratijajñe ca Dāśārhas tasya jīvitam Acyutaḥ|
abravīc ca viśuddhātmā sarvaṃ viśrāvayan jagat|| 17

na bravīmy Uttare mithyā satyam etad bhaviṣyati|
eṣa samjīviyāmy enaṃ paśyatām sarva-dehinām|| 18

nokta-pūrvaṃ mayā mithyā svaiṣṇv api kadācana|
na ca yuddhāt parāvṛttas tathā samjīvatām ayaṃ|| 19

yathā me dayito dharmo brāhmaṇās ca viśeṣataḥ|
Abhimanyos suto jāto mṛto jīvatv ayaṃ tathā|| 20

'yathā 'haṃ nābhijānāmi vijaye tu kadācana|
 virodhaṃ tena satyena mṛto jīvatv ayaṃ śīśuḥ|| 21
 yathā satyaṃ ca dharmaś ca mayi nityaṃ pritiṣṭhitaḥ|
 tathā mṛtaḥ śīśur ayaṃ jīvatāḥ Abhimanyujaḥ|| 22
 yathā Kaṃsaś ca Keśī ca dharmeṇa nihataū mayā|
 tena satyena bālo 'yaṃ punaḥ saṃjīvatām iha|| 23
 ity uktvā Vāsudevo 'tha taṃ bālaṃ Bharataṣabha|
 pādena kamalābhena Brahma-Rudrārcitena ca|
 pasparśa Puṇḍarīkākṣa āpāda-tala-mastakam|| 24
 sprṣṭa-mātras tu Kṛṣṇena sa bālo Bharataṣabha|
 śanaś-śanair mahārāja prāpadyata sa cetanām|| 25

5. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 154-55: Ānanda restores to Prince Kāla his feet and hands that had been cut off: upasaṃkramya Kālasya rāja-kumārasya hastapādān yathā-sthāne sthāpayitvaimam āha| ye kecit sattvā apadā vā dvipādā vā bahupadā vā yāvan naiva saṃjñino nāsaṃjñinas Tathāgato 'rhan samyak-sambuddhas teṣāṃ sattvānām agra ākhyātaḥ| ye kecid dharmāḥ saṃskṛtā vā 'saṃskṛtā vā virāgo dharmas teṣāṃ agra ākhyātaḥ| ye kecit saṃghā vā gaṇā vā yugā vā parśado vā Tathāgata-śrāvaka-saṃghas teṣāṃ agra ākhyātaḥ| anena satyena satya-vākyena tava śarīraṃ yathā-paurāṇaṃ bhavatu| sahābhīdhanāt Kālasya rāja-kumārasya śarīraṃ yathā-paurāṇaṃ saṃvṛttam.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 613: The Buddha sets free Ānanda from the mantras that bind him: saraḥ prasannaṃ nirdoṣaṃ praśantaṃ sarvato 'bhayaṃ| itayo yatra śāmyanti bhayāni calitāni ca|| taṃ vai devā namasyanti sarva-siddhāś ca yoginaḥ| etena satya-vākyena svasty Ānandaya bhikṣave|| athāyusmān Ānandaḥ patihata-caṇḍāla-mantraś caṇḍāla-grhān niṣkramya yena svako vihāras tenopasaṃkramitum ārabdhaḥ.

7. *Tantrākhyāyikā*, p. 20. The adulterous wife of the weaver says to him: dhig ghatosi| ko mām anāgasam virūpayitum samarthaḥ| śṛṇvantu me lokapālāḥ yathāhaṃ kaumāraṃ bhartāraṃ muktva nānyaṃ parapuruṣaṃ manasāpi vedmi tathā mamānena satyena avyaṅgam mukham astu.

It will be observed that Ānanda (in example no. 5), when performing the act of truth, utters a single spell that is very long, while Kṛṣṇa (in no. 4) makes use of five spells in performing one act of truth.

I have already cited above BURLINGAME'S observation that the act of truth is not peculiar to the Hindus or Buddhists but

has always been in use among all races of mankind. It should not therefore cause one any surprise to find that the RV contains many passages which refer to such acts. These passages are :

- (1) 1, 161, 9: āpo bhūyīṣṭhā ity ēko abravīd
 agnir bhūyīṣṭha ity anyo abravīt|
 vadharyantīm bahubhyaḥ praiko abravīd
 ṛtā vadantaś camasān apimśata||

Hymn 1, 161 is addressed to the Ṛbhus, the semi-divine beings, who, having been born men, attained divinity and a share in sacrificial offerings; and like the other hymns addressed to them, this hymn too mentions the five wonderful deeds performed by them. These are—(1) the making of a chariot which is horseless, rimless, three-wheeled and traverses space (v. 3); (2) the making of two bay horses which yoke themselves to the chariot (v. 3); (3) the making of a nectar-yielding cow from a hide (v. 3, 7); (4) the rejuvenation of their parents who were old and frail (v. 3, 7); and (5) making into four the one drinking cup originally fashioned by Tvaṣṭṛ (v. 4, 9).

The last-mentioned feat is the one that is most frequently mentioned by the RV poets (see MACDONELL, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 133), and seems to have been thought the greatest. The exact manner in which the Ṛbhus fashioned four cups out of one is indicated to us by the epithet *cāturvayam* 'four-fold' used in connection with this feat in 1, 110, 3 and the statement, "The eldest said, 'I shall make two cups'; the younger, 'we will make three'; the youngest said, 'I shall make four' contained in 4, 33, 5. These show that the cup was first duplicated by one of the Ṛbhus cutting off, on the inside or outside of the cup, a fairly thick layer so that, instead of the original cup, there were now two, one fitting inside the other, and that this process was repeated by the second Ṛbhu and the third. The thickness of the cup was thus thrice reduced, and there came into existence, in place of the original cup, four cups forming a nest.

The above-cited verse deals with this feat, and it presents to us the *satya-vacana* or spell of truth employed by each of the three Ṛbhus in accomplishing the above feat. The spell employed by the first Ṛbhu was, *āpo bhūyīṣṭhāḥ*. The 'Waters

are the greatest'; and that employed by the second was *agnir-bhūyīṣṭhaḥ* 'Fire is the greatest'.

The spell employed by the third Ṛbhu is reproduced only indirectly by the poet in pāda c; in all probability, it was similar to the spells used by the first two Ṛbhū and read as *vadharyantī bhūyīṣṭhā*. The first of these two words, *vadharyantī*, is a hap. leg.; Sāyaṇa, in his RV commentary, explains it as 'bank of clouds (*megha-ṣaṅkti*)' or 'earth (*bhūmi*)', LUDWIG, hesitatingly as 'lightning' or 'fulgurating cloud', GRASSMANN as 'lightning' or 'bolt of lightning', HILLEBRANDT (*Lieder d. RV.*, p. 94) as 'thunderbolt-hurler (fem.)',¹ and Geldner (*RV. Über.*) as 'the season of thunderstorms or rain'. Now, *vadhar* denotes, as pointed out by Sāyaṇa on the authority of Nighaṇṭu, 2, 20, 'thunder-bolt'; and I agree therefore with Hillebrandt in interpreting *vadharyantī* as 'thunderbolt-hurler (fem.)'. Like *āpaḥ* and *agnih*, however, this epithet too must denote a deity. Now, the deities that are predominantly described as thunderbolt-hurlers in the RV, are (1) Indra (cf. MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 55: "The thunder-bolt, *vajra*, is the weapon exclusively appropriate to Indra. It is the regular mythological name of the lightning stroke" and the observations that follow on that page; see also p. 59), and (2) Dyaus; cf. 4, 17, 13: *vibhañjanur aśanimāñ iva dyauḥ* 'like Dyaus; hurling the thunder-bolt and destroying'; 1, 176, 3: *spāśayasva yō asmadrūḡ divyevāśanir jahi* 'reveal him who is hostile to us, kill him like the thunderbolt of heaven'; 1, 143, 5: *nā yō varāya marutām iva svanaḥ senevy sṛṣṭā divyā yathāśaniḥ* 'who, like the rush of the Maruts, like a missile that has been hurled, like the thunderbolt of heaven, is not to be stopped'. The name of the first-named deity, *Indra*, is always masculine, while that of the other, *dyauḥ*, is frequently used in the feminine also; see MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 22 and the literature cited therein. It follows hence that the epithet *vadharyantī* can denote Dyaus only and not Indra.

1. In spite of the feminine gender, however, HILLEBRANDT (*Ved. Myth.* 3, p. 141) seems to interpret *vadharyantī* as Indra.

I therefore translate the verse as: "One said, 'The Waters are the greatest'; another said, 'Agni is the greatest'; another declared the sky (Dyaus) to surpass many. Speaking truths, did ye cut the drinking cups'".

In pāda c, we have to supply, after *prā*, a word like *rīricānā* (see GRASSMANN'S observations s. v. *prā*). The expression *bahūbhyah prā* is thus obviously a periphrasis for *bhūyiṣṭhā* which seems to refer here to size (*parimāṇa*), or alternatively, to power or might. Concerning the greatness of the Waters, compare 8, 3, 10: *yenā samudram āsrjo mahīr apas tad indra vṛṣṇi te śavah | sadyah so asya mahimā na sannaśe yaṁ kṣoṇir anucakradē* "Great is that strength of thine, O Indra, by which thou didst send forth the great Waters towards the ocean. That greatness of his at which the worlds have cried out is not to be measured in a moment"; 8, 6, 16: *yas ta indra mahīr apah stabhūyamāna āsayat | nī taṁ padyāsu śiśnathah* "Him, O Indra, who lay hemming the mighty Waters, thou didst smite in the feet" and the other verses (see GRASSMANN, s. v. *mahīh*) containing the expression *mahīr apah*. In connection with the greatness of Agni, compare MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 38: "Agni is a divine (*asura*) monarch (*samrāj*) strong as Indra (7, 6, 1). His greatness surpasses that of mighty heaven (1, 59, 5). He is greater than heaven and earth (3, 6, 2; 10, 88, 14), than all the worlds, which he filled when born (3, 3, 10). He is superior to all the other gods in greatness (1, 68, 2)" and the other observations that follow. Regarding the greatness of Dyaus, compare 6, 21, 2: *yasya divam āti mahnā pṛthivyāḥ purumāyasya ririce mahitvam* "whose greatness surpassed that of Dyaus and of the earth"; 1, 59, 5: *divas cit te bṛhatō jātavedo vaiśvānara prā ririce mahitvam* "Thy greatness, O Agni Vaiśvānara, surpassed that of the great Dyaus even"; 1, 55, 1: *divas cid asya varimā vī papratha indram nī mahnā pṛthivī canā prāti* "his vastness has spread even beyond the sky; even the earth is not equal to him in greatness" and the verses (see GRASSMANN s. v. *mahī*) in which the epithet *mahī* is applied to Dyāvā-pṛthivī and Rodasī. Compare also the

following sentences in the section on *Bhūma-vidyā* in the Chāndogyaopaniṣad (7, 10 ff.): *āpo vyvānnād bhūyaḥ . . . tejo vā adbhyaḥ bhūyaḥ . . . ākāśo vāva tejaso bhūyān*, and note that the trinity of *āpaḥ*, *tejaḥ* and *ākāśaḥ* mentioned here is almost identical with the trinity of *āpaḥ*, *agniḥ* and *dyauḥ* (*vadharyantī*) mentioned in 1, 161, 9.

It is doubtful if the significance of the expression *ṛtā vadantaḥ* has been perceived by Sāyaṇa and the other interpreters. Sāyaṇa's commentary on this verse reads as follows: *camasa-caturdhā-karaṇa-kāle kim iti satyaṃ vadanto vyabhajanniti tad āha| ekaḥ trayāṇām anyatamaḥ āpo bhūyiṣṭhāḥ iti abravīt| nahi udakāt praśastaṃ lokopakāraṇaṃ tattvāntaram asti| āpo bhūyiṣṭhāḥ iti ṛtam avādīt| apām eva śreṣṭhatvam 'apa eva sasarjādau' (Manu. 1, 8) ity-ādi-śāstrāt| tathā anyaḥ agnir bhūyiṣṭha iti abravīt| āntaraṃ bāhyaṃ ca dāha-pāka-bhukta-jaraṇādi-vyāpāreṇa agner eva jagan-nirvāhakatvād agner eva bhūyiṣṭhatvam ity eva manyate| tathā vadharyantīm vadhar iti rephāntaḥ api vajra-nāma, 'vadhah, arkaḥ' (Nighaṇṭu 2, 20, 7) iti tan-nāmasu pāṭhāt| tad icchati vṛṣṭy-udakāyeti vadharyantī megha-paṅktir ucyate| yadyapiyaṃ sva-vadhārthaṃ vajraṃ svayam eva nāpekṣate tathāpi vṛṣṭyartham indra-vajreṇa hanyamānatvāt tad icchatīty upacaryate| yad vā| bahubhyaḥ teṣāṃ arthāya vadharyantīm vadham ātmana icchantīm bhūmim| chāndaso rephopajanaḥ| tām eva ekaḥ bahubhyaḥ samvādibhyaḥ śreṣṭhatamām abravīt| udakasyāpi megha-karaṇatvāt| evaṃ ṛtā ṛtāni ukta-rūpāṇi yathārthāni vākyāni vadantaḥ parāsparaṃ bruvantaḥ camasān apimśata avayavino 'kuruta caturdhā vyabhajata ity arthaḥ| 'piśa avayave'; 'śe mucādinām' iti num| idam eva ṛta-vadanam apekṣya ṛbhu-śabdaṃ vyācakṣāṇo Yāskaḥ 'ṛbhava uru bhāntīti vā ṛtena bhāntīti vā ṛtena bhavantīti vā' (Nirukta 11, 15) ity uktavān||*

The expression *kim iti satyaṃ vadantaḥ* and also the reference to Yāska's derivation of the word *ṛbhu* seem to indicate that Sāyaṇa has understood that the qualification of the drinking cup is the effect of the spells of truth uttered by the *Ṛbhus*. On the other hand, his explanation *ṛtāni ukta-rūpāṇi yathārthāni vākyāni vadantaḥ parāsparaṃ bruvantaḥ* seems to indicate otherwise; for, as becomes evident from the examples cited above, spells of truth were spoken, not to particular individuals, but to the world at large.

HILLEBRANDT (*l. c.*) translates *ṛtā vadantaḥ* as 'keeping (your) words', GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) as 'speaking good words', and Ludwig as 'speaking truly'. Geldner (*l. c.*) translates as 'saying true words to one another' and adds the following note: "9 is the amplification of st. 1d (there *bhūtim*, here *bhūyishāḥ*). The words were spoken while they fashioned the cups. Each one of them expresses a different opinion on the question as to what has contributed most to the formation of the wood [of which the cup was made], the fire (in plants), the rain-water, or the *Vadharyantī*. This is, according to Sāyaṇa, the bank of clouds or the earth that longs for the lightning. The earth, in fact, would suit well as the third element. If one accepts the meaning 'season of storms, season of rain', one should then supply after *bahubhyaḥ* the word *ṛtubhyaḥ*. The ablative with *pra + brū* as with *pra + as*". It is thus the belief of these interpreters that the *Ṛbhus'* utterance of the truths is an accident and is not in any way connected with their fashioning of the cups.

This opinion is, as we have seen above, erroneous; and this is shown, further, by verse 6, 47, 3 [=TS. 3, 1, 9, 2] of the AV.¹: *idaṁ tṛtīyaṁ savanaṁ kavīnāṁ ṛtena ye camasaṁ airayanta | te saudhanvāns svar ānyāḥ svasāniṣṭim no abhi vasyo nayantu*. This verse too is addressed to the *Ṛbhus* and speaks of their feat in connection with the drinking cup. Pāda c of this verse is translated by WHITNEY (p. 315) as 'who rightfully (*ṛtena*) sent out the bowls', by LUDWIG (*Der RV.*, III, 429) as 'who made the goblets apart in due order'.

1. Durga, when explaining Yāska's words, *tad etad Ṛbhoṣ ca bahuvacanena camasasya ca samstavena bahūni daśatayīṣu sūktāni bhavanti* (Nirukta 11, 16), has observed, *tad yathā: idaṁ tṛtīyaṁ savanaṁ kavīnāṁ ṛtena ye camasaṁ airayanta*. Similarly, Skanda-svāmin and Maheśvara too, when explaining the same passage, have observed, *tad etad ārbhavāni 'kimu śreṣṭha' ityasya sat-kṛtasya samstavena-yuktāni sarvargveda-śākhāsu bahūni sūktāni vidyante | tad yathā: idaṁ tṛtīyaṁ savanaṁ kavīnāṁ ṛtena ye camasaṁ airayanta iti*. And thus, according to these commentators, this mantra is found in all the *śākhās* of the *Ṛgveda*. In reality, it is not found in the extant version of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*.

and by Prof. Berriedale KEITH (*Translation of the Taittirīya-saṃhitā*) as 'who righteously set the beaker in motion'. These renderings of *ṛtena airayanta* are all wrong. In the first place, none of the fifteen *RV* verses that refer to this feat of the *Ṛbhus* contains any verb signifying 'to send out'; the verbs used in them are, *kṛ* (10 times; see 1, 20, 6; 110, 3; 161, 2; 4, 33, 5. 6; 35, 2.3.4. 5; 36, 4), *nind* (twice; see 1, 161, 1.5) *mā* 'to measure' (once; see 1, 110, 5) and *piś* 'to cut' (twice; see 1, 161, 9; 3, 60, 2). Now, the verb *īr*, even by itself, and uncompounded with *vi*, has the sense of 'to cut'; compare 10, 122, 2: *ghṛtanirṇig brahmaṇe gātum éraya* 'cut a way for the prayer. O thou that art clothed in ghee'; 2, 17, 1: *viśvā yad gotrā sahasā parīvṛtā mādē sōmasya dṛmhitāny airayat* 'when he, in the intoxication of Soma-juice, cut open in a moment all the solid mountains (and set free) what had been confined'; and hence there is no doubt that it has that sense in this verse also. Secondly, *ṛtena* too signifies 'by truth', that is, 'by the spell of truth' (compare the analogous use of its equivalent, *satyena*, in the passages cited above from the Mahābhārata, Divyāvadāna and Rāmāyaṇa). The meaning of AV. 6, 47, 3 is thus: "This third libation (is) for the poets who cut out the drinking cup by means of a truth(-spell); let those (*Ṛbhus*), sons of Sudhanvan who have attained heaven, conduct our well-made offering unto what is better". The epithet *kavi* in pāda a is apposite and refers to the ability of the *Ṛbhus* in composing mantras or spells of truth. The epithet *svār ānaśānāḥ* in c refers to the *Ṛbhus'* attainment of immortality (*amṛtatvam*; cp. 1, 110, 4). As pointed out by Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara in his commentary (on TS 3, 1, 9, 2: *ye ṛtena satyena camasaṃ camasān jātāv ekavacanam | preritavantah kṛtavanta ity arthah*), *camasaṃ* in pāda b stands really for plural *camasān*. Compare also Sāyaṇa's explanation *camasaṃ soma-bhākṣaṇa-patram ekam airayanta prairayanta caturdhā vibhāgena caturaś camasān akurvan*.

(2) 4, 35, 5-6: jyeṣṭhā āha camasā dvā kareti
 kanīyān trīn kṛṇavāmety āha |
 kaniṣṭhā āha caturas kareti
 tvaṣṭa ṛbhavas tat panayad vāco vah ||

satyā¹m ūc¹ur nara¹ evā¹ hi cakr¹ur
 ānu¹ svadhām¹ ṛbhavo¹ jagmur¹ etām¹
 vibhrā¹jamānā¹mś¹ camasā¹n ahevā¹-
 venat¹ tvaṣṭā¹ caturō¹ dadṛṣvā¹n ||

These verses too are addressed to the *Ṛbhus* and speak of their quadruplication of the drinking cup. Their meaning is: "The eldest said, 'I shall make two cups'; the younger said, 'Let us make three'; the youngest said, 'I shall make four'. O ye *Ṛbhus*, Tvaṣṭṛ assented to this word (*i.e.*, proposition) of yours. The men uttered (spells of) truth. They did as they had said; the *Ṛbhus* followed up their suggestion. Seeing the four drinking cups, resplendent like days, Tvaṣṭṛ conceded (that the *Ṛbhus* had carried out their word and quadruplicated the drinking cup)".

The meaning of *panayat* in verse 5 and of *avenat* in verse 6 is not clear. Sāyaṇa explains both words as *aṅgīcakāra*, and seems to understand *panayat* as 'praised the offer of the *Ṛbhus* as being very fair and accepted it' and *avenat* as 'conceded that they had carried out their word', the offer being that, in case they quadruplicated the cup, they should become immortal. GELDNER (*op. cit.*) and LUDWIG understand *panayat* as 'praised' and BERGAIGNE (III, 55) as 'approved', while *avenat* has been understood by these scholars as 'was astonished', 'was pleased', and 'was charmed' respectively. On the other hand, PISCHEL has contended (*Ved. St.*, 1, 201) that *panayat* signifies 'laid a bet; made a wager' and *avenat*, 'became angry', while GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) understands them as 'was astonished' and 'became envious' respectively.

With *satyā¹m ūcuḥ* in 6a should be compared *ṛtā¹ vadantaḥ* in 1, 161, 9d explained above, and *ṛtēna* in AV. 6, 47, 3 likewise explained above.

The above passage and 1, 161, 9 supplement each other in the following respect: 4, 33, 4-5, while stating fully what the purpose of each *Ṛbhu* was in performing the act of truth, does not reproduce the wording of the spells of truth (*satya-vacana*) employed by them; 1, 161, 9, on the other hand, does not state the purpose of each *Ṛbhu*, but gives the wording of the spells used by them.

The only other mantra known to me (besides 10, 35, 8 and 10, 37, 2 explained below) that reproduces the wording of a spell of truth is AV. 4, 18, 1: *samām jyotiḥ sūryeṇāhnā rātrī samāvatī| kṛṇomi satyaṃ ūtaye 'rasāḥ santu kṛtvārīḥ||* 'Light is coeval with the sun; night is equal to the day'. "For protection do I perform (this act of) truth; may the makers (fem.) [of witchcraft] become impotent". Pādas a' contain the spell(s) of truth pronounced by the agent with the twofold object of making witchcraft impotent and of protecting himself against it. Regarding the use of the verb *kṛ* in *satyaṃ kṛṇomi*, compare the Pāli term *sacca-kiriyā*, and the expression *sacca-kiriyāṃ kṛ* that is used in *Milindapañha* 119 ff., and *Jātakas* 20, 35, 444 and 540 (see also *JRAS.* 1917, pp. 437 ff., 445, 446, 447 and 448 where a translation is given of these passages).

Sāyaṇa's explanation of the verse is as follows: *sūryeṇa ādityena tadīyaṃ jyotiḥ prabhā-maṇḍalaṃ samam samānam eva bhavati na kadācit tena viyujyate| rātrī| 'rātreś cājasau' iti nīp| rātriś ca ahnā samāvatī samānāyāmā| sama-śabdāt āvatu-pratyayaḥ svārthikaḥ| yathaiṣaṃ prabhā-prabhāvator divā-rātr-yoś ca samānatvaṃ yathārthaṃ tatha satyaṃ yathārthaṃ karma kṛṇomi karomi| kimarthaṃ| ūtaye abhicaryamānasya puruṣasya rakṣānārthaṃ| tasmāt kṛtvārīḥ kartana-śilālḥ kṛtyāḥ arasālḥ śuṣkāḥ kāryāsamarthāḥ santu bhavantu; and it seems therefore as if he has rightly understood the meaning of the expression *satyaṃ kṛṇomi*.*

(3) 4, 36, 4: *ēkaṃ vi cakra camasaṃ caturvayaṃ
niś carmaṇo gām ariṇta dhītibhiḥ|
āthā deveṣv amṛtatvaṃ ānaśa
śruṣṭī vājā rbhavas tad va ukthyam||*

This verse too is addressed to the *Rbhus*. I translate: "By means of spells did ye make the one drinking cup fourfold, did ye make the cow come out from the hide. Thus did ye, through obedience, attain immortality among the gods; it, O ye Vājas, ye *Rbhus*, is worthy of praise".

Dhītibhiḥ in pāda b and also in 1, 161, 7a has been interpreted as 'with wisdom; with skill' by GRASSMANN (*RV.Ueber.*), 'with inventive power' by LUDWIG and by GELDNER (*op. cit.*) and as 'with skill' by HILLEBRANDT (*op. cit.*). These interpre-

tations are wrong, and the word has, in both pādas, the usual meaning of *mantra* or spell. In this verse, *dhītibhiḥ* is to be construed with *vicakra* also in a. We have already seen above that the mantras used by the *Ṛbhus* for quadruplicating the drinking cup were spells of truth. We learn therefore from this verse that the *Ṛbhus* employed spells of truth in the making of the cow also.

Śruṣṭī in d refers to the tasks which were laid on the *Ṛbhus* by the gods. It was required of the *Ṛbhus* that they should (1) quadruplicate the drinking cup, (2) make a horse, (3) make a cow, (4) make a chariot, and (5) rejuvenate their parents; and, on accomplishing these tasks, they were to become immortal and entitled to a share of the sacrificial offerings. See 1, 161, 2-4.

(4) 1, 161, 7: *nīś carmaṇo gām ariṇīta dhītibhir*
yā jārantā yuvaśā tā 'kr̥ṇotana|
saudhanvanā āśvād āśvam atakṣata
yuktvā ratham upa devān ayātana ||

This verse also is addressed to the *Ṛbhus*. The meaning is: "By means of spells, ye made the cow come out of the hide, made youthful the two (parents) who were old; ye fashioned a horse from a horse, O ye sons of Sudhanvan; yoking the chariot, ye went to the gods".

Dhītibhiḥ in a is to be construed with *akṛṇotana* in b, and *atakṣata* in c also. We have seen above that the *Ṛbhus* used spells of truth (1) for quadruplicating the drinking cup, and (2) for making the cow come out of the hide. We learn from this verse that they used such spells for rejuvenating their parents and for fashioning the horse also.

It is suggested by BERGAIGNE (II, 410, n. 2) that the expression *āśvād āśvam atakṣata* in pāda b signifies, "ye made one horse after another; i.e., ye made two horses".

The *ratha* mentioned in pāda d, it is thought, (see, for instance, GELDNER, *op. cit.*) is the chariot which the *Ṛbhus* themselves mounted in order to go up to heaven. It is possible however to regard the expression *upa devān ayātana* as being merely figurative (and equivalent to *devatvam ānaśa*); and one

is strongly tempted to interpret *yuktvā ratham* as 'having put together the chariot', i.e., 'having made the chariot'. As we know, the making of the chariot was included in the tasks imposed upon the *Ṛbhus*. In this case, *dhītibhiḥ* would have to be construed with *yuktvā* also; and we would learn from this verse that the *Ṛbhus* made the chariot also by means of spells of truth.

(5) 1, 20, 2-5: *ya* ¹*indrāya* ¹*vacoyujā* ¹*tataḥ* ¹*śur* ¹*manasā* ¹*hārī* |
¹*śamībhīr* ¹*yajñam* ¹*āsata* ||
¹*takṣan* ¹*nāsatyābhyām* ¹*parijmānam* ¹*sukham*
¹*ratham* |
¹*takṣan* ¹*dhenum* ¹*sabardughām* ||
¹*yuvānā* ¹*pitarā* ¹*punaḥ* ¹*satyamantrārjūyavaḥ* |
¹*ṛbhavo* ¹*viṣṭy* ¹*ākrata* ||
¹*saṃ* ¹*vo* ¹*madāso* ¹*agmatendrena* ¹*ca* ¹*marutvatā* |
¹*ādityebhiḥ* ¹*ca* ¹*rājabhiḥ* ||

"Who, by means of a spell, fashioned for Indra two bay-
 orses that yoke themselves at the word (of their master),
 (they) attained (to a share in) the sacrifice by means of their
 works.

"(They) fashioned for the Nāsatyas a chariot with a com-
 fortable seat that goes everywhere; they fashioned a cow that
 yields nectar.

"The righteous *Ṛbhus*, by means of spells of truth, made
 their parents again youthful as (part of) the task that had to be
 performed by them.

"For you, accompanied by Indra attended by the Maruts
 and by the kingly Ādityas, did the Soma juices flow."

These verses too are addressed to the *Ṛbhus* and speak of
 the tasks performed by them. The four verses, so far as the
 sense is concerned, form but one sentence, as has already been
 pointed out by Skandasvāmin in his commentary; and the word
¹*ye* of v. 2 has to be construed with the verbs of vv. 3, 4 also.
 Similarly, the word ¹*manasā* of v. 2 has to be construed with
¹*takṣan* in 3a and 3c; and since we know that the *manas*

(= *mantra*, spell) used by the *Ṛbhus* in connection with the making of the horse and the cow is a spell of truth, it follows that a similar spell was used by the *Ṛbhus* when making the chariot also.

Viṣṭī in 4c and *śamībhīḥ* in 2c refer to the five tasks imposed by the gods on the *Ṛbhus*. Of these tasks, four are mentioned in vv. 2-4 (the fifth task is mentioned in v. 6); and it is stated in v. 5 that, (in consequence of the *Ṛbhus* having performed them) the Soma streams flowed for the *Ṛbhus*, Indra attended by the Maruts and the *Ādityas*. The reference here is to the third *savana* or Soma-pressing and to the libations offered to these gods in that *savana*.

The epithet *ṛjūyavaḥ* 'righteous' in 4b refers, perhaps, to the honourable performance by the *Ṛbhus* of the tasks undertaken by them.

Satyamantrāḥ = *satyavacanāḥ* as explained by Skanda-svāmin; that is, 'who employ spells of truth'. Verse 4 thus states in explicit terms that the *Ṛbhus* rejuvenated their parents by means of spells of truth. As we have seen above, it is by this means that they performed their other tasks also. The *Ṛbhus* are thus, pre-eminently, employers of *ṛta* or spells of truth; and there can be no doubt that Yāska had this fact in mind when he derived the word *ṛbhu* from *ṛtena bhānti* or *ṛtena bhavanti*.

(6) 4, 33, 10: ye harī medhayokthā madanta
 indrāya cakruḥ suyujā ye āśvā |
 te rāyas poṣaṃ draviṇāny asme
 dhatta ṛbhavaḥ kṣemayānto nā mitram ||

This verse too is addressed to the *Ṛbhus*, the feat spoken of in it being the making of two bay horses. Pāda a speaks of the *Ṛbhus* 'revelling in mantras' i.e., 'speaking mantras loudly' when they made the horses; and these mantras were, as we have seen above, spells of truth. I translate therefore:

"They who, speaking spells (of truth) loudly, made for Indra by their cleverness the two bay horses that yoke themselves, may they grant us increase of riches and wealth, like those establishing a friend."

suyuj=*svayuj* 'self-yoking'; see VVSt. 1, 40 f.

(7) 4, 35, 4: *kimmayah* *svic* *camasa* *eṣa* *āsa*
yaṃ *kāvyaena* *caturō* *vicakra* |
athā *sunudhvam* *savanam* *madāya*
pāta *ṛbhavo* *madhunah* *somyasya* ||

"Of what substance was that drinking cup made that ye, by means of your poem, made fourfold? Press now the liquid offering for cheer. Drink, O ye *Ṛbhus*, of the sweet drink made from the Soma plant."

This stanza too is addressed to the *Ṛbhus*, and speaks of their quadruplication of the drinking cup. *kāvyaena* 'by the poem', in b, refers of course to the spell of truth employed by them in performing this feat. Compare in this connection the epithet *kavi* that is applied to them in AV. 6, 47, 3 explained above and in 4, 36, 7: *dhīrāso hi ṣṭhā kavayo vipaścītaḥ*.

Pāda c, *athā sunudhvam savanam madāya*, seems to be incongruous as an address to the *Ṛbhus*; on the other hand, it is an appropriate exhortation to the sacrificial priests. Hence, *sunudhvam* is interpreted in a passive sense, as 'let them be pressed for you', by OLDENBERG (*RV. Noten*, 1, 297) while GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) also suggests that the reference is perhaps to the *Ṛbhus*' pressing of the Soma juice 'in order to consecrate the four cups' newly cut by them for the use of the gods. It seems to me, however, simpler to regard c as an exhortation addressed to the sacrificial priests themselves.

(8) 4, 36, 2: *ratham* *ye cakruḥ* *suvṛtam* *sucetaso*
vihvarantaṃ *manasas* *pari dhyayā* |
tān ū nv āsya *savanasya* *pītaya*
ā vo vājā *ṛbhavo* *vedayāmasi* ||

"The clever ones who, by thinking of a spell, made an easy-rolling chariot of unimpeded course, you, O ye *Vājas*, ye *Ṛbhus*, do we now invite to drink of this Soma libation".

This verse too is addressed to the *Ṛbhus* and refers to the chariot made by them. *manasas pari dhyayā*=*mantrasya dhyānena* 'by thinking of the spell', i.e., 'by uttering the spell'. This spell is, as we have seen above, a spell of truth.

The chariot made by the Ṛbhus was taken over by the Ásvins for their own use (cp. 1, 161, 6: *indro harī yuyuje' aśvinā ratham bṛhaspatir viśvarūpam upajata*, 'Indra yoked the two bay horses and the Ásvins, the chariot; Bṛhaspati drove off the all-coloured cow'; 10, 39, 12: *ā tena yātam manaso javī-yasā ratham yam vām ṛbhavaś cakrur aśvinā* 'come, O ye Ásvins, with the chariot, swifter than thought, which the Ṛbhus made for you'; and it is interesting to note that the epithet *rtajāḥ* is applied to it in 3, 58, 8: *aśvinā pari vām iśaḥ purūcīr īyur gīrbhir yātamānā anṛdhrāḥ ratho ha vām rtajā adrijūtaḥ pari dyāvāprthivī yāti sadyaḥ* "Food of many kinds, beneficent, has reached you, O ye Ásvins, from all sides, competing with hymns of praise. Your chariot that is produced from truth, being impelled by the pressing-stones, traverses heaven and earth in a moment". The word *rtajāḥ* in this verse has been rendered variously as 'born from time' (GELDNER, *RV. Ueber.*), 'produced by divine ordinance' (LUDWIG), 'holy' (GRASSMANN, *RV. Ueber.*), and 'producer of water; or, appearing in the sacrifice' (Sāyaṇa: *rtasya udakasya janayitā, rte yajñe prādurbhavātīti vā*): these are all palpably unsatisfactory, and the real meaning of the word is, as given above, 'born from (a spell of) truth'. The chariot is called *rtajāḥ* because the Ṛbhus made it by means of a *ṛta* or spell of truth.

The word *avihvarantam* in b has a passive sense and is equivalent to *avihruta-gati* or *apratihata-gati* 'whose course is not impeded anywhere (in earth, air or water)'. It is thus synonymous with the epithet *parijmā* 'going on all sides, i. e., in all directions; going everywhere'¹ that is applied to the chariot of the Ásvins in 10, 39, 1: *yo vām parijmā suvṛt aśvinā rathaḥ* (note the juxtaposition of *parijmā* and *suvṛt* here), in 1, 20, 3 explained above, in 4, 45, 1 and 10, 41, 1. Compare

1. Such chariots are known to classical Sanskrit literature also; compare, for instance, Raghuvamśa 5, 27: *Vasiṣṭha-mantroka-ṣanaja-prabhāvād udanvad-ākāśa-mahīdhareṣu marut-sakhasyeva valāhakasya gatiṃ vijaghne na hi tad-rathasya* and the explanation *daśasu dikṣu apratihato ratho yasya (saḥ Daśarathaḥ)* that is usually given of the name *daśaratha*.

also the description of the Asvins' chariot contained in 3, 58, 8 (explained above): *rātho ha vām.....pari dyāvāpṛthivī yāti sadyah*; 1, 180, 1: *rātho yād vām pary arnāmsi dīyat*; 4, 45, 7: *rāthah.....yena sadyah pari rajāmsi yāthah*; 1, 180, 10: *ariṣṭanemiṃ pari dyām iyānam*; 7, 69, 1: *ā vām rātho rōdasī badbadhānāḥ* 7, 69, 2: *sā paprathano abhi pañca bhūma* and 7 69, 3: *vi vām rātho...antān divo bādhatē vartanibhyām*.

(9) 3, 60, 2: *yābhiś śacibhiś camasāñ apimśata*
yayā dhiyā gām arinīta carmanah
yena harī manasā niratakṣata
tena devatvām ṛbhavaḥ sam ānaśa||

“Because ye, by means of spells, cut out the drinking cups, because ye, by means of a spell, made the cow come out from the hide, because ye fashioned the two bay horses by means of a spell, ye have therefore, O Ṛbhus, attained to godhead”.

This verse too is addressed to the Ṛbhus and speaks of their attainment of godhead because, by means of spells, they performed the feats mentioned. *śacī* in a=*dhī* in b=*manah* in c; compare Nighaṇṭu 1, 11 which mentions *śacī* among the synonyms of *vāc*.

(10) 4, 35, 5: *śacyākarta pitarā yuvānā*
śacyākarta camasāñ devapānam
śacyā harī dhanutarāv ataṣ-
ṭendravāhāv ṛbhavo vājaratnāḥ||

“By means of a spell, did ye make young your parents; by means of a spell, did ye make the drinking cup of the gods; by means of a spell, O Ṛbhus that possess the best of wealth, did ye make the two bay horses that are the best runners and carry Indra”.

This verse too is addressed to the Ṛbhus; *śacī*=*mantra*=spell of truth.

We have finished with the verses that are concerned with the feats of the Ṛbhus; and we shall now consider some verses that are concerned with the Aṅgirasas and their feats.

The Aṅgirasas are a class of semi-divine beings who are sometimes described by the RV poets as 'sons of heaven', 'sons of gods' (see Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 142). More often, they are described as *pitarah* 'fathers', *nah pitarah* 'our fathers', or *nah pūrve pitarah* 'our ancient fathers'. The principal feat mentioned in connection with them is the piercing of Vala and the freeing of the imprisoned cows. In addition, it is sometimes mentioned that they dispelled the darkness, won the Dawns, won the light, caused the sun to mount the sky, spread out the earth, etc. These feats are attributed to Indra also who is twice called *aṅgirastama* or 'chief Aṅgiras', to Indra accompanied by the Aṅgirasas, to Brhaspati to whom too the epithet *aṅgirastama* is applied, or to Brhaspati accompanied by the Aṅgirasas; and it hence becomes clear that in the opinion of the ṛṣis, the feats were, in fact, performed by the Aṅgirasas, Indra and Brhaspati conjointly.

It has already been pointed out by GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*, note on 4, 1, 13) that the word *ṛta* occurs prominently in the stanzas that refer to this myth in connection with the Aṅgirasas. We shall see below that the same word *ṛta* or its equivalents occur prominently in similar circumstances in connection with Indra and Brhaspati also.

The following pair of stanzas is addressed to Indra; but there is a reference in the first stanza to the Aṅgirasas and their rending of Vala:

- (11) 10, 138, 1-2: *tava tya indra sakhyeṣu vahnaya*
ṛtaṃ manvānā vy adardirur valam|
yatrā daśasyann uśaso riṇann apah|
kutsāya manmann ahyāś ca daṃsayah||
avāsrjaḥ prasvaḥ śvañcayo girin|
ud āja usrā apibo madhu priyam|
avardhayo vanino asya daṃsasā
śuśoca sūrya ṛtajātayā girā||

"In thy companionship, O Indra, those priests, thinking of a truth (-spell), rent Vala; at which time, they gave the Dawns and let the Waters run. Thou didst also punish the *ahīs* at the prayer of Kutsa.

"Thou didst let loose the mothers, humble the mountains, drive out the cows, drink the pleasant sweet Soma, and become strong through the magical power of that tree (i.e., Soma). The sun shone by virtue of the spell born of truth".

The expression *ṛtaṃ manvānāḥ* in verse 1, pāda b, is synonymous with the expression *mānasas pari dhyayā* in 4, 36, 2 explained above and signifies 'uttering a spell of truth' (see GRASSMANN, s. v. *man* 16). Compare the analogous use of the word in 1, 62, 1: *pra manmahe śavasānāya śūṣaṃ āṅgūṣaṃ girvaṇase āṅgirasvāt* "We utter, like the Āṅgirasas, an invigorating hymn for the strong one who is fond of hymns"; 5, 13, 2: *agneḥ stomaṃ manāmahe sidhram adya diviṣṛṣaḥ* 'we utter a successful song of praise for Agni who has reached up to heaven'; 7, 82, 10: *devasya ślokaṃ savitur manāmahe* 'we utter a spell in praise of god Savitr'.

The words *tyē vahnayaḥ* in pāda a refer, as pointed out by Sāyaṇa, to the Āṅgirasas, and it is said in pādas a,b,c that they by means of a spell of truth, pierced Vala, caused the Dawns to appear and released the Waters that had been shut up in Vala. The meaning of *ahyaḥ* and *daṃsayaḥ* in pāda d is obscure, and the translation given above is based on the meaning given by GRASSMANN in his *Woerterbuch*. LUDWIG too translates pāda d as 'dasz Kutsa's man gedenke und [zugleich] als zuchtiger des Ahī' and thus seems to approve Grassmann's explanation of the root *daṃs* as 'to punish'; Sāyaṇa on the other hand explains *tadānīm ahyo 'her vṛtrasya ca daṃsayaḥ karmāṇi vitathāny āsann ity arthaḥ*.

The second verse too speaks of the same deeds, namely, of the letting loose of the rivers and the rending of the mountains, and, in addition, of the driving out of the cows and the setting up of the sun in heaven; the first two deeds however are here attributed to Indra, and so is the third.

Prasvāḥ 'mothers', in pāda a, denotes the waters or the rivers; see GRASSMANN, s. v. *mātr* 14 and *mātrtamā. śvañcayaḥ* 'didst humble', in pāda b, signifies 'didst vanquish and rend'. *vanīnaḥ*, in c, refers to Soma who is often described as *vanaspati* (for references, see GRASSMANN, s. v.). Compare also

3, 40, 7: *abhi¹ dyumnāni¹ vanina¹ indram¹ sacante¹ akṣitā¹ pītvi¹ somasya¹ vāvṛdhe*. “The inexhaustible splendours of Soma go to Indra. After drinking Soma, he became strong”, and note the use of *vaninaḥ* in this stanza also to denote Soma.¹ In d, the ‘spell born of truth’ refers, apparently, to the spell of truth uttered by the Aṅgirasas; compare the words *yā ṛtena¹ sūryam¹ ārohayān¹ divi* in 10, 62, 3 explained below. Or, does it, by any chance, refer to a spell of truth uttered by Indra? See the observations under 6, 39, 2 explained below.

Pādas c, d have been explained by Sāyaṇa as follows: *tathā vanino vana-sambaddhān vrkṣān| yad vā | vanam ity udaka-nāma| tad-yuktān samudrān| avardhayaḥ vṛṣṭi-pradānena vardhayaṣi| ṛta-jātayā| ṛtaṁ yajñāḥ tadarthaṁ jātam janma| yasyās tayā girā vedātmikayā vācā stūyamānasyendrasya dāmsasā karmaṇā” vṛṇvato vṛtrāder api nodanātmakena sūryaḥ śusoca| nabhasi pradīdīpe| yad vā| ṛta-jātayā gireti sūryasyaiva viśeṣaṇam| trayī-rūpayā vācā pradīpya ity arthaḥ| ‘ṛgbhiḥ pūrvāhne divi deva īyate’ ityādikam Taittirīyakam atrānusam-dheyam* (3, 12, 9). Similarly, GRASSMANN too translates these pādas as, “Und liesst die Bäume wachsen durch des Methes Kraft; die Sonn’ erglaenzte durch das fromm erzeugte Lied”, and LUDWIG as, ‘du verliehst gedeihen durch dises baumes wunder, er brannte die sonne durch das der welt-ordnung entsprechende lied’. BERGAIGNE interprets *ṛtajātā gīh* as ‘the hymn born in order, that is, conforming to the law’ (III, 245; see also II, 188 and 290).

(12) 10, 62, 2-3: *yā udājan¹ pitaro gomāyaṁ¹ vāsv¹
ṛtenābhindan¹ parivatsare¹ valāma¹
dirghāyutvam¹ aṅgirasō vo astu¹
prati ṛgbhñita¹ mānavam¹ sumedhasaḥ||
yā ṛtena¹ sūryam¹ ārohayān¹ divy¹
aprathayan¹ pṛthivīm¹ mātaram¹ vi¹*

1. GELDNER, in his *RV. Ueber.*, renders *vaninaḥ* as ‘wooden vessel’, but in the note explains it alternatively as ‘of Soma, who sits in the wood’ (9, 107, 18)

suprajāstvam aṅgirasō vo astu
prati gr̥bhñīta mānavam sumedhasah||

“The fathers who, by means of (a spell of) truth drove out the wealth consisting of cows, and pierced Vala at the end of the year, to you, O Aṅgirasas, may there be long life. Receive, O ye sagacious ones, the son of Manu.

“Who, by means of (a spell of) truth, made the sun mount the sky and spread wide mother earth, to you, O Aṅgirasas, may there be good progeny. Receive, O ye sagacious ones, the son of Manu”.

(13) 7, 76, 4: ta id devānām sadhamāda āsann
ṛtāvānaḥ kavāyaḥ pūrvyāsaḥ|
gūlham jyotiḥ pitaro anv avindant
satyāmantrā ajanayann uṣāsam||

“Those ancient fathers, poets and followers of the law, were indeed boon companions of the gods; by means of spells of truth they discovered the hidden light and engendered the Dawns”.

The ‘fathers’ are the Aṅgirasas; and the ‘hidden light’ discovered by them is the sun. *gūlham jyotiḥ anvavindan* here has the same signification as *sūryam āroḥayan divi* in 10, 62, 3 explained above; and similarly, *uṣāsam ajanayan* signifies the same as *uṣaso daśasyan* in 10, 138, 1 explained above. *satya-mantrāḥ* has the force of an instrumental (= *satya-mantraiḥ*), and is equivalent to *satya-vacanāḥ* as in 1, 20, 4 explained above.

(14) 4, 3, 11-12: ṛtenādrim vyāsan bhidantah
sam aṅgirasō navanta gobhiḥ|
śunam naraḥ pari śadann uṣāsam
āviḥ svar abhavaḥ jāte agnau||
ṛtena devīr amṛtā amṛktā
arṇobhir āpo madhumadbhir agne|
vājī na sargeṣu prastubhānaḥ
pra sadam it sravitave dadhanyuh||

“By means of a (spell of) truth did they pierce the mountain and hurled it far; the Aṅgīrases roared with the cows. Pleasingly (i.e., with pleasing results, well) did the men worship the Dawn; light appeared when Agni was born. “By means of a (spell of) truth, O Agni, did the divine, immortal, uninjuring (i.e., beneficent) Waters flow (i.e., were impelled to flow) for ever with sweetness-bearing torrents, (as swiftly) as a race-horse that is encouraged by words in races”.

Hymn 4, 3 is addressed to Agni which explains the presence of the vocative *agne* in pāda c of verse 12. *Naraḥ*, in pāda c of verse 11 refers to the Aṅgīrases; and Agni himself is addressed as *aṅgīras* in v. 15 of this hymn.

Pāda c of verse 11 refers to the Aṅgīrases making the Dawns appear, and pāda d, to their giving light to the world. *Agnāu*, in d, refers, without doubt, to the celestial fire, that is, the sun (see in this connection BERGAIGNE, I, 22 and MACDONELL, *op. cit.*, p. 93); and the pāda thus speaks of the Aṅgīrases causing the sun to be born in the sky. Verse 12 refers to the Aṅgīrases' release of the Waters shut up in the mountain cave (Vala).

The statement (in pāda b of verse 11) that ‘the Aṅgīrases roared with the cows’ is somewhat cryptic. It signifies (1) that the Aṅgīrases released the cows that had been imprisoned in the mountain, and (2) that the sound made by the Aṅgīrases when uttering the spell of truth was loud and was blent with that made by the imprisoned herd of cows. This, of course, is a natural consequence of the Aṅgīrases being many in number; and it explains why this sound is called *rava* ‘roar, shout’ in 1, 71, 2 and other verses.

Compare with this pāda 1, 62, 3: *bṛhaspatir bhināḍ adriṃ vidāḍ gāḥ sam usriyābhīr vāvaśanta naraḥ* and 5, 45, 8: *saṃ yad gobhir aṅgīraso navanta*; and in connection with pāda a compare 6, 17, 5: *mahām adriṃ pari gā indra santam nutthā acyutam sadasaḥ pari svāt* ‘Thou, O Indra, didst remove from its place the big unshakable mountain which was encompassing (i.e., imprisoning) the cows’.

I look upon *amṛtāḥ* in verse 12 as being active in meaning, and signifying ‘uninjuring’; regarding the form *dadhanyuh*, see Oldenberg's observation in SBE. 46, p. 330.

(15) 4, 1, 13-17: asmākam atra pitaro manuṣyā
 abhi pra sedur ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ |
 āśmavrajāḥ sudughā vavre antar
 ud usrā ājann uṣaso huvānāḥ ||
 te marmṛjata dadṛvāṃso adriṃ
 tad eṣām anye abhito vi vocan |
 paśvayantrāso abhi kārām arcan
 vidanta jyotiś cakṛpanta dhībhiḥ ||
 te gavyatā manasā dṛdhraṃ ubdham
 gā yemānaṃ pari śantam adriṃ |
 dṛlham naro vacasā daivyena
 vrajaṃ gōmantam uśijo vi vavruḥ ||
 te manvata prathamam nāma dhenos
 tris sapta mātuh paramāṇi vindan |
 taj jānatīr abhy ānūṣata vrā
 āvir bhuvad aruṇīr yaśasā goḥ ||
 neśat tamo dudhitam rocata dyaur
 ud devyā uṣaso bhānur arta |
 ā sūryo bṛhataḥ tiṣṭhad ājrāñ
 rju marteṣu vṛjinā ca pāśyan ||

This passage too refers to the Aṅgirasas and to their rending of the mountain and freeing of the imprisoned cows. *ṛta*, therefore signifies in this connection, a '(spell of) truth' as we have seen above.

The expression *ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ* has been interpreted variously as *ṛtam yajñam āśuṣāṇāḥ āśnuvānāḥ santah* (Sāyaṇa), 'aspiring after *ṛta*' (OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, p. 309), 'stimulating one another in right belief' (GELDNER, *RV Ueber.*), 'accelerating the sacrifice' (LUDWIG), 'kindling the holy one' (GRASSMANN, *RV. Ueber.*), and 'hastening to accomplish the law' (BERGAIGNE, I, 133).

The last five interpretations are based, without doubt, on the meanings 'adspirare, sich zu naehern suchen, erstreben, zu vollbringen suchen' assigned to *āśuṣāṇāḥ* by BOEHTLINGK and ROTH in the PW and on the meanings '*schnaufen bei*

angestrongter Arbeit, *anfachen, in Taetigkeit setzen, anregen, erregen*' assigned to that word by GRASSMANN in his *Woerterbuch*. But it should be noted that the root, *śvas-śuṣ* has elsewhere only the meanings 'schnaufen, schnauben', etc., (i.e., 'to snuffle, to snort', etc.) according to these lexicographers, and that the above meanings are assigned to *āśuṣānāḥ* by them in connection with *ṛta* only. This is quite unjustified, and there does not seem to be any reason why the root *śvas-śuṣ* should be given here a meaning different from: what it has in the majority of the RV passages. As will be shown in the article that follows, *śvas-śuṣ* signifies 'to make a loud sound' in these passages; and I accordingly interpret *ṛtam āśuṣānāḥ* as 'speaking a (spell of) truth loudly'.

The word *abhi praseduḥ* in v. 13b is a hap. leg., and has been explained as 'sat down' by OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 308), GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*), LUDWIG, BERGAIGNE (I. 133), and GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*), and as *agnim abhilakṣya prajagmuḥ* by Sāyaṇa. Considering that the word *marmṛjata* is used of the Aṅgirasas in the very next verse (pāda a), I have no hesitation in believing that it means *praseduḥ*, i.e., *prasan-nātmāno babhūzuḥ* 'composed their minds'. *marmṛjata*, signifies, of course, 'became pure', *śucayo babhūvuḥ*.

Compare in this connection the following observations made by BURLINGAME on pp. 432-3, l. c.: "The Act of Truth, although frequently a humdrum charm, and usually very simple, is always a formal act. Sometimes, especially in the Buddhist and Jain records, it takes on the character of a quasi-sacramental rite, and is performed with scrupulous attention to preliminary details and accompanying ceremonies. For example, a woman, about to transform herself into a man, invokes the deities as witnesses. A tiny quail, before conjuring a forest fire to turn back, *engages in solemn meditation* on the Buddhas and their acquired powers. A king and queen, *intending to cross rivers on dry foot, meditate* on the virtues of the Buddha, the Law, and the Order. A queen, intending to cross a river on dry foot, goes to the bank of the river with her retinue in ceremonial attire, and, first invoking the goddess of the river, with hands both joined, and *with a pure heart*, pronounces the magic words. . . . A woman, about to undergo the ordeal of passing between the legs of a yakṣa, before making her Act of Truth, bathes, puts on fresh garments, and

offers incense and flowers to the yakṣa. A skipper, before making an Act of Truth to avoid shipwreck, orders his fellow-mariners to bathe him in perfumed water, clothe him in new garments, prepare him a full bowl, and place him in the bow of the ship. He performs his Act standing in the bow of the ship, and holding the bowl in both his hands". Compare also the following passage at the beginning of the Āśvalāyana-gr̥hyasūtra-pariśiṣṭa: *kartā snāto dhautānārdra-vāsā yajñopavīty ācāntaḥ prāṇmukha āsīno dakṣiṇāṅga-kārī samāhito mantrānte karma kurvīta . . . karmananta ācamanaṃ ceti sāmānyam* enjoining that the *kartr*, before beginning the performance of the rites known as *ṛddhi* and *pūrta* (i.e., sacramental and similar rites), should first bathe, put on washed dry clothes, wear *yajñopavīta*, sip water and be of composed mind. Similarly Āśvalāyana has said (see p. 166 of the Mysore edition of Nṛsiṃha's *Prayogapārijāta*): *ācamya cātmanaḥ śuddhiṃ kṛtvā karma samārabhet| anādeśe svayaṃ kartā sabhyā ṛtvik-purohitāḥ*; and Nṛsiṃha too writes at the beginning of the *Prayogapārijāta* (book of ritual for Āśvalāyana Brahmins) in the section on *Svasti-vācana-prayoga*: *atha yajamānaḥ kṛtābhyāṅgādi-kriyāḥ sv-alamkṛto darbha-pāṇis śucir bhūtvā*.

The word *abhi¹praseduḥ* in v. 13 b expresses the same idea as the word *samāhutaḥ* in the Gr̥hya-pariśiṣṭa passage given above, and *marmṛjata* in v. 14 a, the same idea as the expressions *snāto dhautānārdra-vāsā yajñopavīty ācāntaḥ*, *ācamya cātmanaḥ śuddhiṃ kṛtvā* and *śucir bhūtvā* in the above-cited passages.

I therefore translate the passage as follows:

"Here our human fathers composed their minds; uttering a (spell of) truth loudly, they drove out the cows, good yielders of milk, that had been penned up in the mountain, in the cave, (and) the Dawns, calling (them).

"Being about to rend the mountain, they purified themselves. Others around proclaimed it. Having freed the cattle, they sang triumphantly; they won the light (after) they chanted spells.

"With mind set on cows, those men, the Uśijis, opened with divine words the fast-holding closed mountain, which encompassed and confined the cows, the solid stable full of cows.

"They uttered first the name of the milch-cow; they found the thrice-seven highest (names) of the mother. Responding to it, the females cried out. The bright one appeared with the glory of the cow.

"The raging darkness disappeared; the sky became lucent; there arose the splendour of the goddess Dawn; the sun (rose and) overlooked the wide plains, observing the straight and crooked (doings) among the mortals".

In v. 13, pāda d can also signify 'drove out the cows calling the Dawns'; and this is, in fact, the interpretation adopted by Sāyaṇa, OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 309) and GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*). Compare however 10, 68, 7: *bṛhaspatir amata hi tyad āsām nāma svarinām sadane guhā yat| āṇḍeva bhūtva śakunasya garbham ud usriyāḥ parvatasya tīnā-jat* which deals with the same myth, and which says that Bṛhaspati uttered the names of the lowing cows in the cave and drove them out of the mountain; compare also v. 15 below.

In v. 14, we do not know who the persons are that are referred to in pāda b as 'others around' (*eṣām anye abhitāḥ*). In c, I have followed Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) in interpreting *paśvāyantrāsaḥ* as 'having freed the cattle'. *yantram* = *yantraṇam*, 'confinement, restraint', and *ayantram* = freedom; I regard *paśvāyantrāsaḥ* as a *vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi* (*paśūnām ayantram yaiḥ*) signifying 'those by whom the cattle have been freed'. Compare the expression *gā yemānam ādriṃ* in v. 15 b. GELDNER however regards (*op. cit.*) *paśvāyantrāsaḥ* as a compound of *ayantrāḥ paśavaḥ* (*yeṣām*) with *pūrva-nipata* of the latter word; and he interprets the expression as 'when their herd was freed from confinement'. For other explanations of this hap. leg., see OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, p. 313 f. and *RV. Noten*, I, 263.

Regarding v. 16 ab, compare GELDNER's note in *op. cit.*: 'It is known from the ritual that the cows had individual names by which they were called; cp. VS. 8, 43; RV. 10, 169, 2; Śat. Br. 1, 7, 1, 7; and Sāyaṇa's commentary on TS, Vol. I, p. 72, 4'. See also Sāyaṇa's commentary on this verse. The 'mother' in b seems to be, not the Dawn, but the cow; see

Geldner's note on p. 374 op. cit. and compare 7, 87, 4: *triḥ sapta nāmāghnyā bibharti* 'the cow has thrice seven names'. *taj janatīḥ*, in c, means 'recognising it' that is, 'responding to it'. Regarding *vrā*, I am inclined to agree with PISCHEL (*Ved. St.*, 2, 121 ff.) that it signifies 'female'. Nearly allied to this interpretation is that of BERGAIGNE, 'woman; in particular, woman in rut, amorous woman' (*Quarante hymnes*, p. 14) and of GELDNER, 'alluring female' (op. cit., note on 1, 121, 2). In d, *yaśo goḥ* is believed to refer to the milk of the cow; see GELDNER'S note in op. cit., p. 374; OLDENBERG'S translation in SBE. 46, p. 309 and note on p. 314. Perhaps, however, the genitive suffix in *goḥ* denotes *abheda*; *gor yaśasyā* would then mean *gavabhinnena yaśasā*, 'with the glory of cows', that is, 'with cows'.

dudhitam, in v. 17 a, is derived from the root *dudh* which is enumerated in the Nighaṇṭu among the *krudhyati-karmāṇaḥ* (2, 12). *dudhitam tamah* thus signifies 'raging darkness', that is, 'darkness that rages through the world, uncontrolled', or 'unyielding darkness' (GELDNER, *RV. Ueber.*).

The 'spells', *dhiyaḥ*, mentioned in v. 14 d, and the 'divine word' (*vaco daivyaṃ*) of v. 15 c seem to be identical with the *ṛta* ('spell of truth') of v. 13 b.

(16) 4, 2, 14-16: *adhā ha yad vayam agne tvāyā*
padbhīr hastebhīś cakṛmā tanūbhiḥ
ratham nā kranto apasā bhurijor
ṛtam yemuḥ sudhyā āśuśāṇāḥ||
adhā mātūr uśasaḥ sapta viprā
jāyemahi prathamā vedhāso nṛṇ
divas putrā āngirasobhave-
mādrim rujema dhaninaṃ śucantaḥ||
adhā yathā naḥ pitarāḥ parāsaḥ
pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuśāṇāḥ
śucīd ayan didhitim ukṛtāśāsaḥ
kṣāmā bhindanto aruṇīr apa vran||

“Whatever, O Agni, we have done for thee with thoughts, hands, bodies, (may it find favour with thee). Like those that, making a chariot with labour, guide it between the shafts, the sagacious ones have, uttering the (spell of) truth loudly, broadcast it.

“May we be born from mother Dawn, as the seven bards, the first worshippers among men. May we become Aṅgirasas, sons of Heaven. May we, effulgent, rend the mountain containing wealth,

“speaking loudly the (spell of) truth, O Agni, like our ancient remote fathers. They attained, indeed, to pure thoughts; chanting spells, (and) cleaving the earth, they disclosed the bright ones”.

Hymn 4, 2 is addressed by Vāmadeva to Agni; and in the above passage, the ṛṣi prays to Agni that he (and his companions?) may, like the Aṅgirasas of old, become bards, utter spells of truth, and rend the mountains imprisoning cows.

In verse 14, pādas ab contain a relative clause with the first person plural *vayam* as subject, pāda c consists of a simile, while d contains a sentence with the third person plural *yemuḥ* as finite verb. It is the opinion of PISCHEL (*Ved. St.* 1, 240), GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) and LUDWIG (IV, 310) that the persons denoted by *vayam* in a and *sudhyaḥ* in d are identical, and that the third person plural *yemuḥ* represents the first person plural *yemima*. Sāyaṇa interprets *yat* in a as *yasmāt* and thus gets over the difficulty caused by *yemuḥ*, while GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) translates the verse as it stands without offering any solution of the difficulty. OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 318) supplies the words ‘in those deeds of ours’ after the relative clause and thus makes one sentence of the four pādas.

When explaining this verse in VVSt. 1, 283, I had followed PISCHEL, GELDNER and LUDWIG and regarded *yemuḥ* as standing for *yemima*, because, at that time, I believed with them that *ṛtam*, in pāda d, signified ‘law, order’. As pointed out above however, *ṛtam*, in the expression *ṛtam āsuṣāṇāḥ* signifies ‘spell of truth’ in 4, 1, 13. It is hardly likely that it can have another signification in the same expression in 4, 2, 14; and I am therefore disposed to believe that, as in 3, 14, 7: *tubhyaṃ dakṣa kavikrato yānīmā deva martāso adhvarē ākarmaḥ* *tvam viśvasya surathasya bodhi sarvaṃ tad agne amṛta svadeha*

(addressed to Agni), pādas ab of 4, 2, 14 also contain an incomplete sentence, and that the apodosis is lacking in both cases. In both these verses, we have to understand after the relative clause the words *taj juṣasva* (cp. 1, 75, 1: *juṣasva saprathastamam vaco devapsarastamam*; 4, 9, 7: *asmākaṁ joṣy adhvaram asmākaṁ yajñam āngirah*), *taj juṣtam astu* (cp. 1, 73, 10: *etā te agna ucathāni vedho juṣtāni santu manase hṛde ca*), *tac cikiddhi* (cp. 4, 4, 11: *tvām no asya vacasaś cikiddhi*; 5, 22, 4: *agne cikiddhy āsyā na idam vacaḥ sahasya*) or other similar words.

Pāda c, *ratham nā kranto āpasā bhurijoḥ*, is to be construed with pāda d, and not with pādas ab; for not only is the verb *yam* appropriate in connection with the object *ratham* (cp. 1, 119, 5: *yuvor āsvinā vapuṣe yuvāyujam ratham vānī yematur asya śardhyam*; 5, 73, 3: *īrmānyad vapuṣe vapuś cakram rathasya yemathuh*; 1, 30, 19: *ny āghnyasya mūrdhani cakram rathasya yemathuh*) and with the object *ṛtam* (cp. 4, 3, 9: *ṛtena ṛtam niyatam īla ā goḥ*; 4, 23, 10: *ṛtam yemāna ṛtam id vanoti*), but the making of a spell is also frequently compared by the RV poets with the making of a chariot. See in this connection 1, 94, 1: *imam stomam arhate jātavedase ratham iva sam mahemā manīṣayā* "Using our intelligence, we have put together this song of praise for the worshipful Jāta-vedas as (carpenters put together) a chariot"; 1, 130, 6: *imam te vācaṁ vasūyanta āyavo ratham nā dhīraḥ svapā atakṣiṣuḥ* "Desiring wealth, the Āyus have fashioned this spell for thee, as a skilled artisan does a chariot"; 4, 16, 20: *eved indrāya vṛṣabhāya vṛṣṇe brahmākarma bhṛgavo nā ratham* "Thus have we made a spell for the strong excellent Indra, as Bhṛgu make a chariot"; 5, 73, 10: *imā brahmāni vārdhanā 'śvibhyām santu śāntamā| yā takṣāma rathān iva* "May these spells that we have fashioned as (carpenters do) chariots, invigorate the two Āśvins and be most acceptable to them"; 10, 39, 14: *etaṁ vām stomam āsvināv akarmātakṣāma bhṛgavo nā ratham* "This song of praise have we made for you, O Āśvins,

fashioned as Bhṛguṣ do a chariot". Compare also 1, 61, 4: *asmā id u stomaṁ saṁ hinomi ratham na taṣṭeva* "I send forth this song of praise to him, as a carpenter does a chariot", in which the sending forth of the hymn is compared to the sending forth of a chariot.

Padbhiḥ, in pāda a, signifies 'with (our) minds'; see VVSt. 1, 262 ff. Regarding *bhurijoh*, I follow PISCHEL (op. cit., p. 239 ff.) in interpreting it as 'between the two shafts'. In c, *ratham* is to be construed with both *krantaḥ* and [*yacchanti*], and similarly, *ṛtam* with both *āśuṣāṇāḥ* and *yemuḥ*.

The 'seven bards' (*sapta vipraḥ*) or priests mentioned in verse 15a are identical with the seven seers (*sapta ṛṣayaḥ*) mentioned in 4, 42, 8 and other verses; see Macdonell, op. cit., p. 144, and GELDNER *RV. Ueber.* p. 306. They are mentioned, along with the Navagvas, in 6, 22, 2, as praising Indra, and, in all probability, formed part, like these latter, of the large group of priests known as Aṅgirasas; compare the words *divas putrā aṅgirasas bhavema* in pāda c. *nṛṇ*, in pāda b, is equivalent to *nṛṇām* (see OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, p. 322) or *nṛṣu*. The wealth (*dhana*) spoken of in d in connection with the mountain (*adri*) is, without doubt, the cows imprisoned in it; compare the expression *gomayaṁ vasu* in 10, 62, 2 explained above.

In v. 16, the relative clause in pādas a b is regarded by OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 322) as an incomplete sentence, the apodosis of which is lacking; and the words 'thus may we do the same' are supplied by him after it. GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) translates the verse as, "Und wie unsere ehemaligen Väter, die sich von alters zur Wahrheit aneiferten, O Agni, so mögen (jetzt) die in Liedern Redenden zu klarer (Erleuchtung), zur Erkenntnis kommen. Den Boden spaltend sollen sie die rötlichen (Uṣas') aufdecken", and thus regards the verbs *ayan* and *apauran* as equivalent to *yantu* and *apavṛṇvantu*. All this is very unsatisfactory, and one gets over the difficulty if one regards these pādas as a continuation of the sentence *adriṁ rujema dhaninam śucantaḥ* contained in pāda d of the preceding verse. The 'ancient remote fathers', are, of course, the Aṅgirasas.

śucī (Padapāṭha: *śuci it*), in c, is, in all probability (see SBE. 46, p. 322), a contraction of *śucim it*; and the pāda *śucīd ayan dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ* seems to have the same signification as the pāda *abhi pra sedur ṛtam āśuṣānāḥ* in 4, 1, 13 explained above. In pāda d, one expects *adrim* instead of *kṣāma*; see GELDNER'S note in op. cit., p. 377. The 'bright ones' referred to in this pāda are either the cows, or the Dawns, or perhaps both.

(17) 6, 39, 2-4: *ayam uśānaḥ pary adrim usrā*
ṛtadhītibhir ṛtayug yujānaḥ |
rujād arugnaṃ vi valasya sānuṃ
pañīṇr vacobhir abhi yodhad indraḥ ||
ayam dyotayad adyuto vyāktūn
doṣā vastōḥ śārada indur indra |
imaṃ ketum adadhur nū cid ahnām
śucijanmana uśaś cakāra ||
ayam rocayad aruco rucāno
'yam vāsayaḥ vy ṛtena pūrvīḥ |
ayam iyata ṛtayugbhir āsvaiḥ
svarvidā nābhinā carṣaṇiprāḥ ||

"Desiring the cows near the (i.e., encompassed by the) mountain, this Indra, yoker of (the spell of) truth, accompanied by those whose spells were truths, rent the unbroken back of Vala, and fought the Panis with spells.

"This Indu, O Indra, illumined the dark nights, in the evening and at dawn, for years. They have made him the herald of days. He made the Dawns be born in brightness.

"This (Indra), shining, made the unshining ones shine; by means of a (spell of) truth, he has caused many (Dawns) to dawn. He goes with horses that yoke themselves by means of *ṛta*, protecting the people with the navel that wins the light".

Hymn 6, 39 is addressed to Indra who, as observed above, is praised as *aṅgirastama* or 'chief Angiras' by some poets. Verse 2 of the above passage refers to his rending of Vala and freeing of the imprisoned cows by means of a spell of truth

(*ṛtayuj*), and with the aid of the Aṅgirasas, while v. 4 says that he made the unshining Dawns shine, set free the imprisoned Dawns, by means of a spell of truth (*ṛtēna*).

In verse 2, *ṛtadhītibhiḥ* in pāda b refers to the Aṅgirasas; compare Sāyaṇa's explanation *ṛtadhītibhiḥ satya-karmabhir aṅgirobhiḥ*. The word *ṛtadhīti* is the exact equivalent of the word *satyamantra* which is used in connection with the Aṅgirasas in 7, 76, 4 explained above. *ṛtayuj* = yoker of truth; i.e., employer of spells of truth; these spells are referred to as *vacobhiḥ* in pāda d. Compare in connection with it 1, 62, 4: *sa suṣṭubhā sa stubhā sapta vipraiḥ svareṇādrim svaryo nava-gvaiḥ | saranyubhiḥ phaligam indra śakra valam ravena darayo daśagvaiḥ*. He, with the well-praising lauding (throng), the seven bards and the Navagvas, cleft the mountain (containing the) cows with a shout. "Thou, O mighty Indra, hast, with the Saranyus and the Daśagavas, cleft the cave of crystal with a roar". The words *svara* and *rava* refer to the sound produced by the utterance of spells by the Aṅgirasas and their companions (Indra, Bṛhaspati, etc.).

(To be continued.)

THE MESSAGE OF THE GĪTĀ.* (PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION)

BY

P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A.,
Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ is the most popular Hindu scripture, and its importance is second to none in the history of Hindu philosophical thought. If anything, its popularity is on the increase. It has been translated into almost all modern languages. We have prose as well as poetic versions of the translations. The greatest saint-politician of our land, Mahatma Gandhi, regards the Gītā as the "*Universal Mother*." He clings to it as his guide through the temptations and travails of life. He goes on to assert that a true votary of the Gītā does not know what disappointment is. He concludes his estimate of the Gītā thus: "I can declare that the Gītā is ever presenting me with fresh lessons, and, if somebody tells me that it is my delusion, my reply to him would be that I should hug this delusion as my richest treasure."

It is a chapter from the Bhīṣma parva of the Mahābhārata, whose study has enraptured and ennobled the minds of men and women. Though the Gītā is a smṛti, *i.e.*, secondary scriptural authority, all the schools of Vedānta have treated it as one of the triple texts that support their respective schools. With that spirit in view they have all commented on it and refuted the commentaries of rival schools. The social reformer and the reactionary alike have claimed the Gītā as their support.

What exactly is this popularity due to? It is due to a number of causes, the foremost among them being that the Gītā view of life is within the reach of one and all of us. It shoves the metaphysical details into the background and throws into relief the philosophy of action and the need for it. What is in the focus, is its practical teaching. Throughout it breathes a spirit of

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toleration and does not rule out any type of spiritual faith. Kṛṣṇa says "whoever with true devotion worships any deity, in Him I deepen that devotion, and through it he fulfils his desire." "Those that devotedly worship other gods, they also worship me though only imperfectly". The author of the Gītā does not insist upon totalitarian loyalties, but believes that men attain their best in different ways. The toleration of the Gītā is not a mere stroke policy, it is an article of faith with Hinduism. Neither is its toleration due to a form of indifferentism. The author of the Gītā has no patience with men who have no faith. He stresses *Sraddhā* more than the performance of scripture-ordained duties.

As Prof. Hiriyanna observes, the fascinating figures, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, the occasion that calls forth the teaching, its simple and charming style, and the dialogue form, all go to make the Gītā a popular scripture. "The selecting of the specific situation and the concrete mode of treatment is the cause of the universal appeal of the scripture." It states very clearly the code and course of conduct that lead men on to right living. The author of the Gītā has no patience with the men who merely believe in a world that is governed by action and reaction. He denounces the men who profess that "this world is all that we see, and all that is". The talk of the impenitent rationalist is characterised as "*ḥuṣpītān vācam,*" men who reel out florid texts. These fools declare, in the words of the Lord, "There is nothing else but this". Kṛṣṇa castigates the Mīmāṃsakas who believe in the letter of the Veda and the round of rituals and characterises them as "miserable ones." In the sixteenth chapter there is an elaborate account of the views of the men of no faith. Men of no faith are characterised as Asuras. They say "that the world is false and is without a moral basis and without a God, what is there that does not spring from mutual union? Lust is the cause of all." "Holding such views these souls commit cruel deeds, come forth as enemies for the destruction of the world. They give themselves up to insatiable desires, full of hypocrisy, pride and arrogance; they hold false views through delusion and act with impure resolves". The author of the Gītā is against the literalist section as well as the materialists. The indiscriminate life of self-indulgence sanctioned by the hedonist has been severely criticised. The Gītā stands for a careful cultivation of tastes

and a culculated indulgence of passions. "No god must be cheated, none overpaid". It is never in favour of self-mortification. It stood for the golden mean with steadfast faith in God. The Gītā never advocated the thwarting of instincts, but stood for their training. A harmonious integration of the various impulses of life is the call of the scripture.

The Gītā view of life can be defined as a revolutionary type of idealism, which estranges the revolutionary by its idealism, and the conservative by a drastic revaluation of the earthly goods.¹ Terms like *Yajña* (sacrifice), *Karma* (action), *Jñāna* (knowledge), *Samnyāsa* (renunciation), etc., are interpreted afresh by the Gītā. *Yajña* in the Gītā does not mean animal sacrifice, nor the sacrifice of merely material objects but all activities prompted by a spirit of sacrifice. *Karma* does not mean mere mechanical action done for the achievement of some objects herein or hereafter, but action performed without the desire of the fruit. The *Jñāna* of the Gītā is not merely intellectually mediated knowledge that does not result in spiritual realisation, but is that immediate knowledge which is *Brahman* itself. The *Samnyāsa* of the Gītā is not the giving up of the activities as such and retiring from society. It is the giving up of the desire for the fruits and the sense of egoity in respect of any action performed by us. It is *phala samnyāsa* and not *karma samnyāsa*.

It is the insistence of the performance of one's own duty prescribed by his station,—“My station and my duty”—that is the fundamental message of the Gītā. In short, the central message of the scripture is *Karma yoga*, a life of disinterested activity. The entire Gītā is a description of that *Karma yoga*. What is it like and what is it not? B.G. Tilak has named the message of the Gītā as the Philosophy of Energism, i.e., of action.

In the history of Hindu thought two paths to perfection are recorded. They are respectively called the *nivṛtti mārga* and the *pravṛtti mārga*. The ideal of *nivṛtti mārga* advocated the giving up of all karma and the withdrawing from the work-a-day world. This is the negative ideal of renunciation. According to Śrī Śaṅkara the Gītā teaching has for its final

1. Cf Author's article on *The Religion of the Gītā*, Journal of the Madras University, Vol.XI, No.2.

purport renunciation. Mokṣa can be realised only by Jñāna, and not by any other method, 'nānyaḥ panthāḥ'. So the path of action at best can produce only further bondage, and bondage has the tendency to envelop the soul. Further, Mokṣa according to Śaṅkara is not something to be produced, it is there. So at best *Karma* or the path of active life can lead to *ātma śuddhi*, cleansing of the heart and not directly to Mokṣa. There are no two direct paths to Mokṣa. The *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti mārgas* are not discontinuous, one leads us on to the other. Further Śaṅkara explains the emphasis of the Gītā on Karma in the light of Arjuna's eligibility for it. Arjuna needs the cleansing of the Ātman, he is an unenlightened soul and as such he is only fit for Karma yoga. Wherever the Gītā speaks of *Karma yoga* in extravagant terms it has to be understood in terms of the response to Arjuna's needs. It is in this light that all the verses in the Gītā that speak high of *karma* are interpreted by Śaṅkara. He makes the path of works subservient to the path of renunciation.¹

It has to be pointed out here that a growing section of Advaitins believe that there is no need to contrast jñāna, bhakti and karma, to the disadvantage of anyone of them. Short of Brahman realisation every method is within the jurisdiction of Māyā and as such there seems to be no need to stress the superiority of jñāna over karma and bhakti. Even Brahman knowledge is not Brahman. Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar in his address as the President of the Section of Philosophy and Religion at the All India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum, observes² "that spiritual realisation may come through spiritual analysis or through the melting of the heart in devotion or through self-surrender in service. This is not an innovation due to Western impact . . . All this because of an ancient prejudice against emotions and will. The melting of the heart in love is not less noble than the expansion of it in wisdom and the transcendence of the gulf between seen and seen in knowledge. The unity appears in and breaks through the multiplicity, every moment in emotion and volition no less than in

1. For a detailed account of the Gītā on the lines laid down by Śaṅkara refer to Dr. T.M.P. Mahadevan's article on the *Two-fold Path in the Gītā*, Philosophical Quarterly, January, 1941.

2. *An Advaitin's plea for continuity*, Journal of the Madras University.

intellection. One of these is not more sacrosanct than others. And the Philosophy of Non-dualism should look for integrative synthesis rather than intellectual dominance."

With acute insight, massive erudition and rare persuasive skill, Tilak, in the *Gītā Rahasya* makes out the case for the Philosophy of Action with great success and gives us a brilliant account of the *Pravṛtti mārga*. Taking the texts by and large one gets the impression that the *Gītā* insists on the performance of action with a devout frame of mind. The texts that speak of renunciation as the method to attain Mokṣa are very few. They are: "He whose mind is unattached everywhere who is self-subdued, and from whom desire has fled he attains by renunciation to the supreme transcending all works" (XVIII-48). "Knowledge as a sacrifice is superior to all material sacrifices, O Arjuna. For all works with no exception culminate in knowledge" (IV-33). "As the fire which is kindled reduces all fuel to ashes, O Arjuna, so does the fire of knowledge reduce all works to ashes" (IV-37). There are other texts that point out that the released soul has no duties '*tasya kāryam na vidyate*' (III-17)." Excepting for these few texts the rest of the *Gītā* is an exaltation of the philosophy of action.

The philosophy of action or karma yoga is not very easy to understand. "What is work and what is no work—even the wise are perplexed here", says the *Gītā*. What exactly is this karma yoga of the *Gītā*? It combines the excellences of the *pravṛtti* and the *nivṛtti mārgas*.¹ It insists on the discharge of the social obligations arising out of the station one occupies in life. It insists that we have to recognise a charter of duties before we claim our bill of rights. It insists on the performance of duties at all costs, and never countenances dereliction from action. It is against the non-performance of action. The *Gītā* says "No man can ever be free from a life of action by merely avoiding active work; and no man can ever reach perfection through mere renunciation." For no man can sit still even for a moment, but does some work. Every one is driven to act, in spite of himself, by the impulses of nature" (III-4 and 5). "It is indeed impossible for any embodied being to abstain from work absolutely (XVIII-11). Thus after making out a case for the impossibility of inaction he goes on

1, Prof. Hiriyanna's *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* p. 126-129.

to describe the mental frame with which we have to act. Act we must, and there is no choice from action. *We are asked to, act with a frame of mind that has no utilisation motive. We are exhorted to renounce the fruit of activity together with the sense of egoity.* Act with no sense of agency or attachments to the fruit of action. It is not action that is binding but the sense of attachment to the fruits of the action and the sense of egoity. Every one of our activities must be construed as an offering at the feet of God. The Karma yoga of the Gītā discovers the golden mean between the two-ideals of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* preserving the excellences of both. While it does not abandon activity, it preserves the spirit of renunciation, "Work alone art thou entitled to, and, not to its fruit. So never work for fruit, nor yet desist from work" (II, 47). "Know that what they call renunciation is the same as yoga, O Arjuna, for no one who has not renounced his desires can ever become a yogin (VI, 2). The Karma yoga of the Gītā does include the element of renunciation. "But renunciation of any duty that ought to be done is not right. The abandonment of it through ignorance is declared to be of the nature of dullness" (XVIII-7). "Works of sacrifice, gifts and penance should not be given up, but should be performed. For sacrifice, gifts and penance purify the mind", these are works that should be done is my decided and final view, says Kṛṣṇa (XVIII, 5 and 6). "But he who gives up the fruit of work is regarded as one who has renounced". The renunciation of the fruits of the action and not action as such is the pith of the Gītā teaching. Such an action is tantamount to inaction. Hence the paradoxical verse in the Gītā, "He who sees no work in work, and work in inaction, he is wise among men, he is a yogin, and he has accomplished all his work" (IV-18).

The Karma yoga of the Gītā commends us to lead a strenuous life and yet gives no room for the play of the selfish impulses. In short, it implies that every action we do must be motivated to secure *Īśvara prīti*, and must discard the sense of egoity and the desire for the fruit of all action. The predominant note of the Gītā is one of devotion to the Lord. Lord Kṛṣṇa says that all action should be surrendered at his feet. "Fly to me alone for shelter with all thy soul, O Arjuna, by my grace shall thou gain supreme peace and the everlasting abode". "Fix thy mind on me, be devoted to me, prostrate

thyself before me. So shalt thou come to me. I promise this truly for thou art dear to me". "Surrendering all duties come unto me alone for shelter. Do not grieve, for I will release thee from all sins". "Surrender all thy works and fight—with thy mind in unison with the spirit and free from every desire and trace of self and all thy passions spent". After explaining at such length the doctrine of *Saranāgati* i.e., self-surrender to God, the Gītācārya dogmatically lays down his final view thus: "Those who full of faith ever follow this teaching of mine and do not carp at it—they too are released from works." "But those who carp at my teaching and do not act thereon know that, that such senseless men blind to all wisdom are lost." With this frame of mind we are exhorted to act. It is this aspect of devotion and self-surrender that Śrī Rāmānuja has stressed in his commentary on the Gītā. The ideal Bhakta who has realised God is described in three distinct places. In the second chapter we have the first of the descriptions of the realised soul (II, v. 55-72). But we should not forget that Arjuna asked Kṛṣṇa to describe the way of life led by a man of steadfast wisdom. How does he act? How does he sit? and How does he walk? All these questions of Arjuna presuppose that the man of steadfast wisdom is not exempt from karma. The last seven verses of the twelfth chapter give us the description of the ideal Bhakta and again the 14th chapter describes in its concluding verses the nature of the God-realised soul. All these descriptions do not absolve the released soul from indulging in karma.

The Gītā commends this path of action and prefers it to the path of renunciation. *When Arjuna asks Kṛṣṇa to tell him for certain which is the better of the two paths, renunciation of works or their self-less performance, Kṛṣṇa replies: that of the two, performance of the works is better than their renunciation (V. 2).* On another occasion he says: "to work is better than desisting from work". Arjuna is thus exhorted to activity and reasoned into it. Further the author of the Gītā adds that even an enlightened soul must act with a view to the preservation of the world. Men like King Janaka have attained Mokṣa through the path of works. Lord Kṛṣṇa cites himself as an example of one taking to the path of action. Thus the author of the Gītā brought Arjuna to the path of action by asking him to take to the path of duty as the way

to salvation. Arjuna endorses the view and acts up to it. He says, "My delusion is gone, I have come to myself by thy grace. O Kṛṣṇa, I stand free from doubt, *I will act according to thy word*". He did act according to it. The Gītā inculcates in us the view that we have a right to action only and not to the fruits thereof and that success and failure are one and the same thing at bottom. "It calls upon us to dedicate ourselves body, mind and soul to pure duty and not to become mental voluptuaries at the mercy of chance desires and undisciplined impulses." The kingdom of Heaven conceived by the Gītā is not a realm of pure mystical experience unconnected with concrete human relationship. It is not an unearthly, conceptual realm, but a just and a happy social order.





JÑANĀD EVA TU KAIVALYAM

BY

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

University of Madras.

The search for release posits the permanence of what is sought; this seems inconsistent with production or attainment; what is produced or attained is finite, is perishable; release must therefore be a manifestation of the ever-existent and infinite. The manifestation is necessary because of the present obscuration, a function of māyā. On the sublation of māyā, our eternal freedom stands self-revealed. This sublation is also spoken of as destruction or annihilation. Nothing that exists can be wholly annihilated; but vidyā is known to annihilate avidyā; knowledge destroys ignorance; since the phenomenal world due to māyā is annihilated at release, māyā is equated with avidyā, destructible by knowledge. Since without the destruction of avidyā release is impossible and since jñāna alone can destroy avidyā, jñāna is claimed to be the sole means to release.

Certain points are worth keeping in mind. Jñāna in the sense of svarūpa-jñāna, the consciousness that is Brahman, is identical with release; it is not a means to release, being indeed the substrate of avidyā. What is claimed to be instrumental is vṛtti-jñāna, a particular cognitive psychosis intuiting the impartite and arrived at by study of the Vedānta, reflection and profound contemplation. It is a function of the internal organ. Though itself a product of nescience, it has the capacity to destroy all lower psychoses such as apprehend the finite, the relational and the diverse, and finally to annihilate itself.

What exactly does this final psychosis do to the lower vṛttis? It is said that the latter are destroyed. It is suggested, however, that such a view is inconsistent with the advaitin's own position as to the nature of avidyā, that it is a positive entity. The belief that knowledge destroys ignorance is bound up with the superstition that ignorance is just lack of knowledge; since knowledge and the lack of it cannot co-exist, the latter is believed to be destroyed by the former. If, however,

nescience is positive, how can this be destroyed, any more than anything else which is positive? True it is knowledge and nescience cannot apparently co-exist. This is, however, not an absolute position; for, apart from the co-existence of avidyā and svarūpajñāna, the advaitin himself shows the co-presence of knowledge and ignorance in such experiences as “tvad-uktam artham na jñāmi”. It may be asked whether with development knowledge does not replace ignorance and in that sense destroy the latter. We suggest that it is the ignorance itself which has developed into knowledge, instead of being replaced by the latter. The process is not self-contradictory since both are āvidyaka, of the nature of indeterminable māyā. The real cannot change; nor can the unreal; but the ignorance that was and the knowledge that now is, both are anirvācya as real or unreal, *sat* or *asat*. Change is inevitable; to the extent that this change unifies instead of dividing, is more inclusive rather than less, manifests harmony rather than discord, it is a case of ignorance becoming knowledge. The *coming into being* of harmony is unintelligible in the last resort, except as a manifestation of the non-difference that is eternal. This when realised immediately (aparokṣatayā) constitutes the final psychosis (carama vṛtti).

The unintelligibility of the world, on the cognitive side, has been worked out in great detail by advaita disputants, under the caption drk-drśya-sambandhānupapatti. Because of such anupapatti, there comes the realisation, primarily mediate (parokṣa), that *seer* and *seen* are alike super-impositions on the *sight* (consciousness). If analysis thus reveals the failure of the relational concept in the field of knowing, does it not, we ask, reveal a similar defect in the fields of conation and emotion? A bare cogniser in front of a barely external object is helpless to know; a bare agent in respect of a barely external object, is he better off in respect of the capacity to act? And a barely external situation confronting a bare subject, can it more intelligibly cause an emotion? In every case, we have to rely on the concept of relation, and it does not on analysis reveal greater capacities in some cases than in others. If it be said that men do act and feel, it may be retorted that men do also know. If the stress be laid on the analysis that reveals the cloven hoof, it must be remembered that people analyse not merely in knowing, but also in acting and even in

feeling. Men do not act unreflectingly any more than they can cognise inactive.* The difference in analysis is one of degree, not of kind. The saintly man in action may conceivably have arrived at a mode of action which reflects non-difference, not because of a metaphysical discipline, but because of a practical discipline leading to harmony overruling discords,

* Advaitins were not unaware of the contention that cognition is itself a mental act. In spite of this, however, they have tried to make a hard and fast distinction between cognition on the one side and both ritual activity and meditation on the other. The usual line of distinction is this: Cognition is objective and of what is; ritual activity is directed towards what is to come into being; it is also optional, depending on the will of the performer; meditation may be of what is; but it may also be of what is not, like the contemplation of the woman as a fire in the *pañcāgnividyā*. The distinction is good as far as it goes; but it is by no means absolute, being only one of degree. This is masked by the assumption that contemplation can be of the unreal, while cognition cannot be. The wholly unreal (*tuccha*) is only a limiting concept; it cannot even be spoken of, much less contemplated. An object, whether of contemplation or of cognition, is neither real nor unreal. The barren woman's son is not real; it is not unreal, if an object of contemplation, since barren women exist and also sons, while it is only the relationing that fails, as in the *anyathākhyāti* version of error; the difference between the shell-silver and the barren woman's son is that while the former is an immediate presentation, the latter is not. Contemplation may make immediate what is mediate; after imagining it for a long time one may really hold that a person *B* is the son of a woman *A* known to others as barren. Is this not a logical contradiction? Not unless you mean just the combination "barren mother"; and that is not a possible object of contemplation any more than "black white" is a possible object of cognition; the bare words, of course, could be suitable objects in either case. To the advaitin, more than to all others, the recognition of a class of untouchables should be repugnant; yet that is the class to which he has tended to relegate karma and *upāsānā*. The Indian philosophers, advaitins included, seek a purpose even for philosophic pursuits; unfortunately, however, they were not thorough-going purposivists in their psychology; had they been, they would not have sought to confine *jñāna* and karma in water-tight compartments, but would have treated them as different inter-penetrating phases of purpose, purpose itself being self-transcended in the eternal.

a dharma whose observance promises and gives no reward other than its own realisation, a mode of life radiating sweetness, imbued with love and inspired by sacrifice. Some degree of cognitive analysis we may admit even in this case; that, however, can give only the *parokṣa* starting-point; the discipline that ends in the immediacy of perfection, is it not imprudent to deny it, and idle to call it *jñāna*? The devotee whose heart melts with love, who asks for and takes nothing for himself, whose sole desire is to be with the Lord and one with the Lord that is Love, not lover or beloved, since reflection has convinced him in a remote way that Love alone is the perfection of which loving and being loved are imperfect appearances, is his discipline to be discarded or identified with *jñāna*? Neither course is worth while.

The truth is one; but we live in a world of truths which are but half true. The good is one; we act in a world of goods, none of which is wholly good. Love is one; we move and suffer in a world of loves, none of which transfigures the whole self. Realisation comprises two stages, the realisation of the partial and imperfect nature of what we have, and the manifestation of the perfection but for which the imperfect would neither be nor be known. The first of these stages requires reflection and analysis, which may if desired be treated as cognitive; the subsequent discipline, however, may be cognitive, conative or emotive. The service of the saint and the devotion of the *bhakta* are not necessarily inferior to the wisdom of the sage, if by wisdom we mean a function of the internal organ. If, however, we mean the wisdom that is *caitanya*, there the need to distinguish will not arise, since all three will have arrived though by slightly different paths. The emphasis on knowledge as the sole means to realisation has been due to (1) an intellectual bias, perhaps due to the fact that metaphysics was the special pursuit of *sannyāsins* who had finished with their duty to society, (2) a defective psychology compartmentalising cognition, conation and emotion, (3) possibly an escapist mentality engendered by conditions of life in general on the one side and an excessive ritualism on the other.

It is often asked whether sages are doing the proper thing by the world by living in retirement. One of the many assumptions underlying the question is that perfection is possible for the sage alone and that if he retires from the world, the world

will not have the benefit of his realisation. Even sages may be intelligibly exercising an occult influence over the rest of creation. That apart, they certainly serve as noble exemplars and inspirers to others on the path of jñāna; they are specially of service in this way, when they are more or less easily accessible like Bhagavān Ramaṇa or Śrī Aurobindo. Even assuming, however, that sages do not mingle with the world and live as members of it, that is no detracting from the advaita ideal of perfection, which may be attained by the saint in action as much as by the sage in wisdom. If the latter discipline requires more or less complete withdrawal from the world, the former does not; and the saint may do for his fellow-creatures what the sage may not do or do but imperfectly because of the difference in his initial equipment.

On the view that release is possible for all, and that, till the attainment thereof, the perfection of sage or saint is relative, being but the attainment of Īśvaratva, there is a special value attaching to the performance of karma by the man of wisdom; for while wisdom illumines the wise man alone, action lightens the load and smooths the path of the ignorant as well; the perfecting of the latter is accelerated, thus bringing nearer the making absolute of the mukta's relative perfection, the Brahmī-bhāva of him who has but attained Īśvara-bhāva. Hence it is that Maṇḍana Miśra wisely advocates jñāna-karma-samuccaya, holding that the wise man's performance of karma accelerates release, just as the use of a horse accelerates one's arrival at one's destination. Much of this, however, has to remain as speculation; for *we* are all too human, while what we discuss is how *Īśvara* will act. Will He function as a great knower or a great doer or a great lover? We know only this much, that it would be the height of presumption to deny Him any or all of these roles, whether simultaneously or in succession.

KALPAVRKṢA—KALPAVALLI.

By

C. SIVARAMAMURTI M.A.,

Government Museum, Madras.

The Kalpavalli and Kalpadruma, the fabulous creeper and tree granting everything desired, are as well-known in Sanskrit as in Buddhist literature. It is a tree with such special miraculous powers that bounteously feeds and richly clothes guests arriving at its foot and seeking its hospitality, as narrated in the Dhammapadaatthakathā. In early sculpture from Bodhgaya, Bharhut and other places there are representations of trees with human hands proceeding from their boughs and offering food and drink to guests seated in their shade. They are representations of the vanadevatās or tree-spirits, the invisible godlings residing in the trees and watchful of all that goes on around in the world of whom the ceṭa in Mṛcchakaṭika informs Śākara in the line पश्यन्ति मां दश दिशो वनदेवताश्च. The vanadevatā is a kindly spirit, often, according to the Jātakas, giving advice to those that may profit by it. This good nature in them accounts for their bounteous attitude.

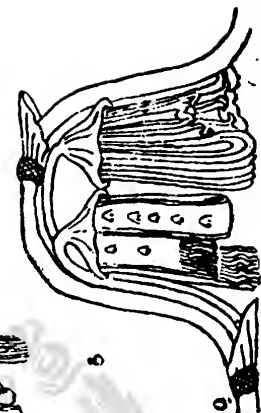
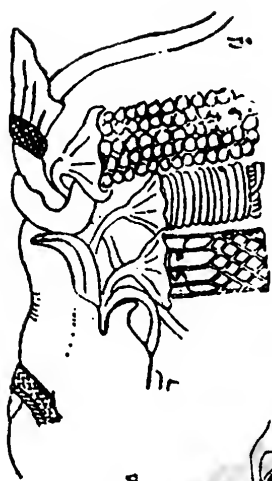
The vanadevatās are most beautifully pictured by Kālidāsa in his Śākuntalam where they offer the choicest apparel and ornaments to their beloved benefactor Śakuntalā the sweet maiden of the hermitage, who, regular in her care for the creepers and plants was loth to remove even a tender shoot from them, though like those of her clan she was fond of adornment and floral decoration.— नादत्ते प्रियमण्डनापि भवतां स्नेहेन या पल्लवम्. The wondering pupils of the sage Kaṇva recount how the trees gifted beautiful silks and jewels for the princess going to her royal home.—

क्षौमं केनचिदिन्दुपाण्डु तरुणा मङ्गल्यमाविष्कृतं

निष्ठ्यूतश्चरणोपयोगसुभगो लाक्षारसः केनचित् ।

अन्येभ्यो वनदेवताकरतलैरापर्वभागोत्थितै-

र्दत्तान्याभरणानि तत्किसलयोद्भेदप्रतिद्वन्द्विभिः ॥



These trees of the hermitage are akin to the divine trees and creepers in Śakra's heaven and Kubera's city beyond the Himālayas. The same objects of adornment and toilet are supplied by the kalpavr̥kṣa for the citizens of Alakā. All the material required for feminine adornment is supplied by the self-same wishing tree and the chief items of ornamentation and toilet are mentioned by Kālidāsa in the Uttaramegha.

वासश्चित्रं मधु नयनयोर्विभ्रमादेशदक्षं

पुष्पोद्भेदं सह किसलयैर्भूषणानां विकल्पान् ।

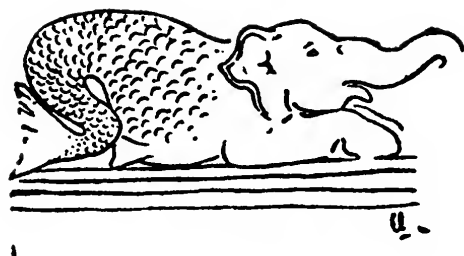
लाक्षारामं चरणकमलन्यासयोग्यं च यस्या-

मेकः सूते सकलमवलामण्डनं कल्पवृक्षः ॥

The kalpadruma and vanadevatā concepts are so allied that it may be taken as practically one fixed into the other. The tree as described by Kālidāsa is so special to Kubera and Alakā that one would expect it associated with the temples of the lord of wealth which were well-known in the time of Patañjali—
प्रासादे धनपतिरामकेशवानाम् . And at Besnagar was found the famous kalpadruma capital of the column (dhvajastambha) that stood in front of a Kubera shrine, and now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

There are both the tree and creeper carved at Bharhut. Fig. 1 shows a kalpavr̥kṣa or tree in the bight of an undulating kalpalatā or creeper. Earrings, necklaces of large and small sized gems and pearls and silken garments appear amidst the foliage. In fig. 2 the kalpalatā unfolds a number of jewels. Here is a commentary on Kalidasa's line भूषणानां विकल्पान्. The variety is large. Three types of earrings, patrakuṇḍalas, ratnakuṇḍalas, karṇaveṣṭanas and sīmantamaṇis also known as caṭulatilakamaṇis, finger rings, golden necklet and necklace composed of pearl strands with elongate central gems and a silken garment are present at the ends of the tendrils of the creeper or issue from the flowers. In fig. 3 there are silken garments one of them answering the line वासश्चित्रम् and another क्षौमं केनचिदिन्दुपाण्डु तरुणा मङ्गल्यमाविष्कृतम्. There are beautiful flowers worked on the former which has also fine añcala or fringe. The latter has exquisite folds that are so lovely a feature in all silken cloths. Kālidāsa says that even wine, the trainer of the eye-brows in graceful glances, is also supplied by the kalpavr̥kṣa— मधु

नयनयोर्विभ्रमादेशदक्षम्. Fig. 4 answers this. From the first flower of the creeper issues a śikyā or net for holding the madhubhāṇḍa or wine-pot from which in small caṣakas the sweet liquor is tasted by lovers lounging in their terraces on moonlit nights, even as the reflection of the moon trembled in the goblet — शशिप्रतिमाभरणं मधु. Anklets and gem necklaces are also among those present beside the wine-pot that issue from the flowers. Representation of flowers that are so natural in the case of trees and creepers has no special significance except that all flowers can be supplied by the self-same tree or creeper. This is answered in the diverse flowers, blooms and fruits appearing at different points on the same creeper that runs the whole length of the rail coping. Kuravaka flower bunches and leaves are specially noteworthy as the flowers that adorn the braid — चूडापाशे नवकुर्वकम्—while the leaves tinge the feet and finger nails serving the purpose of alaktaka. This must thus answer to the lines पुष्पोद्भेदं सह किसलयैः and लक्षारागं चरणकमलन्यासयोग्यं च यस्याम्. Fig. 5 which shows the hands of the vanadevatā or tree spirit projecting from the boughs and offering food and drink to a guest is reminiscent of the description of Kālidāsa अन्येभ्यो वनदेवताकरतलैरापर्वभागोत्थितैर्दत्तान्याभरणानि तत्किसलयोद्भेदप्रतिद्वन्दिभिः where the hands of the sylvan deity issuing from the tree clumps present the objects they hold for presentation.



IHĀMRGAS

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, M.A.,
Government Museum, Madras.

In early art from Bharhut, Jaggayyapeta, Amaravati and other places, there are peculiar animals represented. Horses, elephants, bulls and other animals with the hind part shaped like the tail of fish with beautiful scales and fins are common themes among these sculptures. These and many others are called ihāmrgas or animals of fancy. The Mahābhārata has specifically described such animals and the lines are extremely interesting as they form the earliest literary description of themes that have been later carved on stone and perpetuated for all time. The arrows of Arjuna are described as creating various unconquerable elements to thwart the enemy among which are these fantastic animals. They are described in the following lines in the Mahābhārata.

शषाणां गजवक्त्राणामुलूकानां तथैव च ॥

मीनवाजिसरूपाणां III-173-50,51.

‘Of fishes with the head of an elephant, owls and animals resembling both horse and fish in one’. (*See* figs. 1 and 2).

At Sanchi and Amaravati there are steeds with leonine faces. Such animals are described in the Rāmāyaṇa. The lines run

निर्ययू राक्षसव्याघ्रा व्याघ्रा इव दूरासदाः ॥

वृकसिंहमुखैर्युक्तं खरैः कनकभूषणैः । VI-51-27, 28.

‘The excellent rākṣasas unapproachable like tigers, went forth (in chariots) with jackal and lion-headed mules decorated with gold ornaments yoked (to them)’. (*See* fig. 3).

DATE OF PADYARACANĀ OF LAKṢMAṆABHAṬṬA
AṆKOLKAR — BETWEEN A. D. 1625 AND 1650.

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A.

Curator, B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

The *Padyaracanā*¹ of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa Aṅkolakara was published in 1908. Its editors state² that they have no evidence to decide the date of this author but the MSS on which their edition was based were copied on paper which may have been older than a hundred years. They also state that Lakṣmaṇa was a poet of Mahārāṣṭra.

Aufrecht makes the following entries regarding the *Padyaracanā*³ in his catalogue of MSS:—

1. *Kāvyaṃālā*, 89, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1908.

2. “आङ्गोलकर श्रीलक्ष्मणभट्टः—आङ्गोलकरोपनामकः श्रीलक्ष्मणभट्टः कदा समुत्पन्न इति प्रमाणानुपलम्भान्न शक्यते निर्णेतुम् ; परं नायमेकस्माद्वर्षकाद-
र्वाचीन इति शक्यते वक्तुम् । यदाधारेणास्याः पद्यरचनाया मुद्रणं जातं तत्पुस्तकद्वयमपि
शताद्वयैभ्यः प्राचीनेषु पत्रेषु लिखितमिति । कविरयं ज्ञात्वा महाराष्ट्रे भवेत्”.

One of the 2 MSS used by the Editors was made available to them by the late Dr. K. B. Pathak, while the other was obtained from the collection of the late Śrī Rupadatta, the Rajaguru at Jaipur. The Editors have merely noted the names of the poets whose verses have been quoted by Lakṣmaṇa in his anthology, but they have made no attempt to fix the limits of the date of the *Padyaracanā* on the strength of these names.

The *Kāvyaṃālā* edition of the *Padyaracanā* contains lacunae in the text of some verses on pp. 5, 12, 14, 15, 62, 63, 64, 69, 71, 73, 74, 77, 79, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 116, 117. Many of these could be filled up by using the three MSS of the *Padyaracanā* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

3. The Govt. MSS Library (B. O. R. Institute) possesses the following MSS of the work;—

(1) No. 726 of 1886-92—पद्यरचना dated Samvat-1797=A. D. 1741.

CC I, 324—"पद्यरचना *metrics*, by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. B. 3. 62. Bhr. 148"

CC II, 72—"पद्यरचना—*metrics*, by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. Peters. 4. 27"

CC III 69—"पद्यरचना *metrics*, by Lakṣmaṇa Bd. 422"

A perusal of the Kāvya-mālā Edition of the *Padyaracanā* will make it clear that the work is an anthology dealing with different topics in the usual style and has nothing to do with "*metrics*" as wrongly described by Aufrecht, who was evidently misled by the title पद्यरचना in giving the subject of the work.

The first 5 verses of the anthology are by the author himself as they are followed by the endorsement "ममैव लक्ष्मणस्य". In verse 1 the author salutes god Śiva ("पायान्नरो धूर्जटिः"). In verses 3 and 4 the authorship of the work is ascribed to

(Continued from the last page.)

("संवत् १७७७ वर्षे मिति आसाढ सुदि द्वादशीतियौ । एषा पुस्तिका लिपीकृताः ॥ श्री सवाईजैपुर नगरमध्ये ।")

After verse 93 of the Kāvya-mālā Edition, which appears on folio 52 of this MS, we find recorded the contents of the anthology chapter by chapter. These contents are followed by the following verses:—

"तदेतैर्व्यापारैरियमुपचिता पञ्चदशभि-

लसच्छ्रीः श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणविरचिता पद्यरचना ।

समुद्योतं धत्तात्रिजगति शरच्चन्द्रचलिता

समिद्धा ज्योत्स्नेव प्रथिततिथिभिः पञ्चदशभिः ॥ १ ॥

कौमुदी कौमुदी जीव कामुकानिव कामिनी ।

आनन्दयतु मे पद्यरचना चतुराक्षरान् ॥ २ ॥

समाप्तेयं पद्यरचना ॥

The last 2 verses recorded above appear to be genuine though they are not to be found in the following MSS of the *Padyaracanā* which are incomplete.

(2) No. 148 of 1882-83—Incomplete: contains folios 33 to 74. Colophon of Chap. XIV appears on folio 70. Old in appearance.

(3) No. 422 of 1887-91—Very old and brittle: incomplete: about 46 folios—Colophon of Chap. XII appears on folio 44.

The MS "B. 3. 62" mentioned by Aufrecht consisted of 54 leaves and was in the possession of Acharatlal Vaidya of Ahmedabad in 1872 (Vide p. 63 of Bühler Fasc. III—Gujarat MSS etc. 1872.)

लक्ष्मण (“निर्मितिलक्ष्मणस्य” and “कृतिः लक्ष्मणीया”). Verse 3 clearly states the purpose of the anthology, *viz.* to give repose to logicians whose minds are distressed by the accumulated heat produced by logic. Lakṣmaṇa has composed this anthology which is as it were the shade of the Kalpavṛkṣa or the desire-yielding tree.

In the body of the anthology many verses are followed by the endorsement “लक्ष्मणस्य” which appears to indicate that these verses were composed by our author. The last 2 verses of the anthology are followed by the endorsement “एतौ लक्ष्मणस्य” which leaves no doubt about their authorship.

The total number of verses in the *Padyaracanā* is as follows:—

Chapter	Verses	Chapter	Verses	Chapter	Verses
I	47	VI	20	XI	40
II	39	VII	41	XII	41
III	74	VIII	43	XIII	68
IV	67	IX	58	XIV	90
V	25	X	23	XV	93
	<hr/> 252		<hr/> 185		<hr/> 332

The total number of verses as specified above comes to 769, and if we add the 2 verses found at the end of MS No. 726 of 1886-92 (*Padyaracanā*) this number would be 771.

We have now to see what exact contribution Lakṣmaṇa has made to the present anthology. The following table records verses in each chapter which are followed by the endorsement “लक्ष्मणस्य” and which may, therefore, be looked upon as the composition of our author:—

Chapter I - 13 Verses, 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 17, 26, 29, 30, 34, 35, 42, 44.

Chapter II - 12 Verses, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 16, 17, 19, 27, 30, 31.

Chapter III - 7 Verses, 9, 33, 44, 45, 55, 56, 57,

Chapter IV - 14 Verses, 1, 2, 6, 7, 17, 23, 24, 32, 33, 36, 46, 50, 55, 56.

Chapter V - 3 Verses, 1, 2, 3.

Chapter VI - 3 Verses, 8, 9, 10.

Chapter VII - 2 Verses, 41, 25.

Chapter VIII - 7 Verses, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

Chapter IX - 4 Verses, 9, 17, 33, 43.

Chapter X - 4 Verses, 7, 8, 13, 18.

Chapter XI - 12 Verses, 7, 11, 16, 18, 19, 23, 31, 32, 33, 36, 36-a, 37.

Chapter XII - 12 Verses, 1, 9, 14, 15, 16, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30, 35, 36.

Chapter XIII - 25 Verses, 4, 5, 6, 15, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68.

Chapter XIV - 26 Verses, 2, 12, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41, 50, 51, 57, 62, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 81, 82.

Chapter XV - 8 Verses, 2, 28, 29, 51, 57, 70, 92, 93.

Total 152 Verses ascribed to Lakṣmaṇa.

It would be seen from the above analysis that out of the total of 769 verses of the *Padyaracanā*, Lakṣmaṇa claims no less than 152 verses i.e., about *one fifth* of the entire anthology. Evidently he wanted to shine among the learned of the past generations by incorporating his own compositions in this anthology of their verses. His purpose appears to have been served by the publication of the anthology in the *Kāvya-mālā Series*, which has already immortalised many poets and poetasters.

With a view to fix the earlier limit to the date of the *Padyaracanā* we must record the names of authors mentioned in this anthology. These authors are as follows:—

रामचन्द्र, pp. 2, 3, 4, 10, 15, 17, 35, 40, 43, 58, 59, 62, 76, 97, 117.

भानुकर, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 47, 58, 59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 92, 97, 99, 100, 102, 106, 108, 112, 115, 116, 119.

भानुमिश्र, p. 6.

माघ, pp. 3, 62, 72.

महानाटक, pp. 3, 11, 13, 15, 18, 72.

कस्यापि, (anonymous author), pp. 4, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45

47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66, 68, 71, 80, 81, 84, 85, 87, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115.

गणपति, pp. 5, 10, 20, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 62, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 82, 116.

भोगिसूनु वेणीदत्त, pp. 7, 13, 14, 16, 20.

क्षेमेन्द्र, pp. 7, 84.

धरणीधर, pp. 10, 13, 22.

अकबरीय कालिदास, pp. 11, 21.

कस्यापि (हर्षदत्तस्य), p. 12.

अम्बष्ठ, pp. 14, 76.

श्रीहर्ष, pp. 15, 19, 27, 34, 42, 59, 67.

महाकाव्य (?) p. 18.

त्रिविक्रम pp. 20, 31, 117.

वराहमिहिर (?) p. 23.

गौड, p. 23.

कालिदास—pp. 23, 40, 45, 49, 65, 81, 85, 115.

व्यास, p. 23.

श्रीव्यास, p. 23.

वेणीसंहार pp. 23, 24.

देवेश्वर, pp. 24, 106, 109.

रत्नाकर, pp. 26, 67.

हनूमतः, p. 28.

गदाधर, pp. 29, 66, 75, 83, 85, 117.

जयदेव, pp. 30, 40.

बिल्हण, pp. 33, 35, 38, 45, 64, 66.

बिल्हणशतक, p. 91.

शार्ङ्गधर, pp. 34, 57, 101.

वैद्यनाथ, p. 34.

शकवृद्धेः, pp. 35, 36.

वैद्यभानु, p. 35.

- भास, pp. 35, 78,
 लक्ष्मीधर, p. 37,
 शंकराचार्य, p. 38,
 वाल्मीकेः, pp. 38, 43, 79,
 वाहिनीपतेः, pp. 41, 63,
 षण्मासिकस्य, p. 41,
 वाणीविलास, pp. 43, 58, 71,
 मैथिल, p. 43,
 उमापति उपाध्याय, p. 44,
 निद्रादरिद्र, p. 45,
 लक्ष्मणठक्कुर, p. 46,
 दण्डिनः, p. 48, 85, 110,
 बाण, p. 48,
 मोरिका, p. 48,
 जघनचपला, p. 52,
 अविलम्ब, p. 54,
 बाबूमिश्र, p. 54,
 अमरुक, pp. 54, 55,
 वामन, p. 55.
 धूर्त, p. 57,
 कवीन्द्र, p. 58,
 मर्तुहरेः, pp. 59, 89, 92, 98, 102, 111, 112, 115,
 भोजप्रबन्ध, pp. 61, 79, 94, 95, 104, 113,
 अवन्तिवर्मन्, p. 62,
 अचल, p. 64,
 गुणाकर, p. 65.
 वासुदेव, p. 67,
 कस्यापि (हरिहरस्य), p. 68,
 हरिहर, p. 9,
 कयोरपि (रुद्रस्य), p. 69,
 सर्वदास, p. 75,

रघुपति, p. 76.
 कविराज, pp. 77, 79, 117,
 पाणिनि, p. 77,
 कविकङ्कण, p. 80,
 भवभूतेः, p. 85,
 लीलावतीकार, p. 85,
 नारायण, p. 86,
 कृष्णमिश्र, p. 86,
 वररुचेः, मुरारेः—p. 87,
 मुरारेः, p. 116,
 इन्द्रकवेः, p. 87,
 सोमदेव, p. 90,
 महादेव, p. 95,
 विकटनितम्बा, p. 96,
 भोजदेव, p. 101,
 आनन्दवर्धन, p. 102.
 लक्ष्मणसेन, p. 103,
 रङ्गनाथ, p. 104,
 परिमल, p. 107,
 वासिष्ठात्, p. 112,
 सुबन्धोः, p. 114.
 राघवचैतन्यानाम्, p. 118,
 गोवर्धन, p. 118.
 त्रिलोचन, त्रिविक्रम, p. 118
 गणेश्वर, p. 118.

In the above list we find that Lakṣmaṇa mentions and quotes from an author called अकबरीय कालिदास ¹ who was of course patronized by Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605).

1. गदाधरमट्ट in his anthology रसिकजीवन composed about A.D. 1660 quotes 2 verses of अकबरीय कालिदास, viz.,

- (1) “हस्ताम्भोजाभिमाला.....कुपाणी”
- (2) “हिमाम्भोरुहपत्तने.....शानैर्गच्छति”

In view of the references to अकबरीय कालिदास found in the *Padyaracanā* we may fix A.D. 1610 or so as the earlier limit to the date of the *Padyaracanā* of Lakṣmaṇa. The later limit to the date of this anthology may be fixed at A.D. 1710 or so in view of the dated MS of the work copied in A.D. 1741 (B.O.R. I., MS No. 726 of 1886-92).

Mr. Krishnamachariar¹ states that Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, the commentator of the *Naiṣadha Kāvya* of Śrī Harṣa "also wrote a poem *Padyaracanā*." Let us now see if this statement is correct.

Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, the author of the commentary on the *Naiṣadha* was the son of Rāmakṛṣṇa² but the name of the father of Lakṣmaṇa the author of the *Padyaracanā* is not traceable in the *Padyaracanā*. In the same manner it is difficult to

(Continued from last page.)

(See Dr. H. D. Sharma's article on Hari Kavi-I.H.Q. X, p. 484) Lakṣmaṇa quotes 2 verses from अकबरीयकालिदास on pp. 11 and 21, viz.,

- (1) "तुङ्ग ब्रह्माण्डसिंहासन.....यशश्चक्रवर्ती बघेल"
- (2) "हस्ताम्भोजालिमाला.....कृपाणः"

The verse "हस्ताम्भोजालिमाला" is common to रासिकजीवन and पद्यरचना. We have, therefore, three verses ascribed to अकबरीय-कालिदास".

1. *Classical San. Literature*, 1937, p. 183 foot-note 2.

2. Vide Stein's *Cata. of Jammu MSS*, 1894, p. 69— "नैषधी-यचरितटीका गूढार्थप्रकाशिका by लक्ष्मणभट्टशर्मा रामकृष्णभट्टसूनुः". Vide also my article on the date of this commentator in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (Vol. II pp. 309-312) where I have proved that this author flourished between A.D. 1431-1730.

Aufrecht (CCI. 536) makes the following entry regarding the author of the *Padyaracanā*;

"लक्ष्मणभट्ट—*Padyaracanā*
—*Ratnamālā*"

R. Mitra describes a MS of रत्नमाला (p. 286 of Vol. VI of *Notices*, 1882) as a "collection of miscellaneous verses illustrating particular rhetorical maxims, with many riddles and enigmas". In this description the name of Lakṣmaṇa's father is not found. The work consists of 354 *Slokas*.

identify लक्ष्मण the author of the *Padyaracanā* with लक्ष्मण the author of a work called रत्नमाला as appears to have been done by Aufrecht (*CCI*, 536). In the *Padyaracanā* the author invokes God Siva in the first verse while in the *Ratna-mālā* he bows to God Kṛṣṇa (“कृष्णं नमामि मनसा वसुदेवसूनुम्”). In the absence of any objective proofs to enable us to identify the three authors of the name लक्ष्मण¹ it is open to doubt if they are identical or otherwise. At any rate no *a priori* case for their identity has been forthcoming.

On p. 8 of the *Padyaracanā* the following verse is introduced as “लक्ष्मणस्य” in the manner of many other verses of लक्ष्मण the author of the anthology:—

“अथ गङ्गा—

इयं चिद्रूपापि प्रकटजलरूपापि भगवती

यदीयाम्भोबिन्दुर्वितरति च शम्भोरपि पदम् ।

पुनाना धुन्वाना निखिलमपि नानाविधमघं

जगत्कृत्स्नं पायादनुदिनमपायात्सुरधुनी ॥ ४२ ॥

लक्ष्मणस्य”

In the *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī*² of Haribhāskara composed in A.D. 1673 we find the above verse³ quoted as follows:—

Folio 18a of MS No. 314 of 1884-86.

“इयं चिद्रूपापि प्रकटजलरूपापि भगवती

यदीयाम्भोबिन्दुर्वितरति च शम्भोरपि पदम् ।

पुनाना धुन्वाना निखिलमपि नानाविधमघं

जगत्कृत्स्नं पायादनुदिनमपायात्सुरधुनी ॥ ४१ ॥

लक्ष्मणस्य”

1. Peterson (p. 54 of *Third Report*) describes a palm-leaf MS of a work called सूक्तावली composed by लक्ष्मण (“सूक्तानां संग्रहं चक्रे लक्ष्मणो लक्षसूक्तिकम्—verse 1). This MS was in the Temple of Śāntinātha, Cambay.

2. Vide my article on this anthology in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* Vol. III pp. 33-35. The exact date is 12th June 1673.

3. This verse has been quoted in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍā-gāra* (N. S. Press, 1911) p. 9—verse 124.

I am inclined to presume that Haribhāskara Agnihotri who composed his anthology in A.D. 1673 and who quotes one of Lakṣmaṇa's verses about Gaṅgā apparently knew the *Padyaracanā* for which I have fixed the chronological limits, viz., "*Between A.D. 1610 and 1710*". If this presumption is correct we must suppose, on the strength of the identification of the two verses, that the *Padyaracanā* of our Lakṣmaṇa is earlier than A. D. 1673, the date of composition of the *Pādyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī*. I am, therefore, inclined to hold the view that the date of the *Padyaracanā* must lie, say *between A. D. 1625 and 1650*. This view is consistent with the statement made by the editors of the *Padyaracanā* that Lakṣmaṇa Aṅkoḷkar¹ was a native of Mahārāṣṭra. It is possible to suppose that Haribhāskara, who was himself a native of Nasik in Mahārāṣṭra, knew the work of Lakṣmaṇa Ankolkar, another earlier author of an anthology similar to the *Padyaracanā*.



1. Surnames ending in *Kar* current in the Mahārāṣṭra generally indicate that the native place of the holder of the surname is identical with the name of the place preceding the affix *Kar*. Lakṣmaṇa Aṅkoḷ-Kar may have been a native of *Aṅkol*. There is a village of the name *Akol* in Chikodi Tālukā of the Belgaum District in the Bombay Presidency. I cannot say if *Ankoḷ=Akol*.

THE POETRY OF SRĪ MŪKA KAVI.*

BY

SRIMATI K. SAVITRI AMMAL.

It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that I deem it a rare privilege to stand here under the auspices of the Sanskrit Academy to-day and to address an audience distinguished alike for its learning and culture. Indeed I could never have dreamt of such an event to be possible! It is not my inherent modesty, much less the usual way of beginning a speech, that prompts me to utter these words. For, believe me, never could plain truth be so readily admitted from one's heart as it is by me now.

When the Academy asked me to speak on such an occasion as this I confess I felt too flattered to decline the invitation and in the fullness of my heart I could not pause to reflect "am I competent enough for the task?" I have no reason to suppose they could have believed me capable, in any way, of doing full justice to the subject. It is quite possible they wanted to make a departure from their usual practice of having one of their own members to speak to them and to confer the honour instead on a lady this time. I think I may look upon it as a good excuse also for the temerity with which I have proposed to speak before you to-day.

I remember, in that delightful novel "Cranford", the ladies of Cranford being independent of fashion, used to argue about it in this way "What does it signify how we dress here in Cranford where everybody knows us?" and if they were from home the reason was equally cogent. They said "What does it signify how we dress where nobody knows us?" I wish I might adopt their admirable maxim and satisfy myself with this argument, "What does it matter what I say, where everybody knows about the poet Mūka? Or if it was the other way I might say with equal confidence "What does it matter what I say where nobody knows about the poet?"

I have however found a convenient way of putting my mind at ease by thinking that if I am fortunate enough to say any-

* Lecture delivered under the auspices of the Madras Samskṛta Academy on the Śrī Mūka Day.

thing worth saying about that great poet whose Day we are celebrating to-day, then, well and good; if not, I can still be sure that the audience will be indulgent enough towards one who by no means claims to know what are all the things she should say.

I am happy however in this particular which, unequipped as I am to discuss the singular merits of a poet to whom poetry came in its truest sense as the direct gift of God, nevertheless affords me the privilege of paying my modest tribute to him. What it is you can have no difficulty in conjecturing. The religious fervour I have felt for those exquisite hymns the "Mūkapañcaśatī" from the earliest days I could remember is just what makes me utter a few words in much the same manner in which the poet himself begins his Stuti-śataka.

पाण्डित्यं परमेश्वरि स्तुतिविधौ नैवाश्रयन्ते गिरां
वैरिचान्यपि गुम्फनानि विगलद्गर्वाणि शर्वाणि ते ।
स्तोत्रं त्वां परिफुल्लनीलनलिनश्यामाक्षि कामाक्षि मां
वाचालीकुरुते तथापि नितरां त्वत्पादसेवादरः ॥

"Although the very Vedas are found to be inadequate in singing thy glory, my devotion to thy gracious feet is what makes me say a great deal."

Here I am on safe ground and find I can rather hold up my head. For unless you feel, in regard to your subject, in the way you ought to feel, you can hardly hope to do justice to it even in any slight measure.

In the first place we may congratulate the Sanskrit Academy upon the excellent idea of keeping apart this special Day this year in honour of the Poet Mūka, in the same way as they have been celebrating the Days of other classical Sanskrit poets. By doing this they seek to preserve all that is best in Sanskrit literature. In the present instance we may say with the greatest justification that here is a poet whom it behoves us to cherish not only an hour once a year but all the days in the calendar. For then indeed we shall find what a unique place he occupies in the realm of poetry and which he will continue to occupy as long as the Sanskrit language lives.

We all know that the inspired poet easily transcends time and space and stands as a symbol of immortality all by the

great quality of his poetry. He is rightly described as attaining even mokṣa, freed from all the shackles of the world. For does not the poet, if he can be truly called one, lose himself in the region of his imagination so completely as to enter immediately the presence of God and all the wonders of His Creation? No wonder the sage of Chelsea speaks of the poet as being not merely a poet but an infinite deal more. He is a great hero; he is a Prophet; he has the touch of Divinity in him. The true poet as the Mukta sees, hears and feels, not with his outward senses but with his whole being as it were and consequently finds himself to be at one with the Universe.

The story goes about this gifted poet that he was dumb—bereft of the powers of speech and when one day by the grace of Śrī Kāmākṣī he suddenly found that he could speak, his joy knew no bounds. He was so overpowered by it that his heart opened and poured itself into a flood of praise of the Mother, dwelling on the perfection and graciousness of Her Lotus feet, Her exquisite smile and the beauty of Her divine Kaṭākṣa. Whether the story is a true record of the poet's life or it is just one of those legends that ever weave themselves around anything that is beyond the range of the ordinary is immaterial. Suffice it to say that he had that great inner urge—the longing of the soul for merging in the Infinite, which expressed itself in these five immortal Śatakas.

The question may arise why a poet of his eminence never produced any other work than the Mūkapañcaśatī, a purely devotional poem. Could that fact stand in the way of his being recognised as a Mahākavi in Sanskrit poetry? He whose ken is far removed from earthly things and is fixed on High cannot be expected to come back to those earthly surroundings again. It is no wonder if such a man should be dead to everything else about him and if to his rapt eyes the whole universe should seem one great image of the Mother's glorious personality.

We are told that the poet Kālidāsa as he was lifted above from the abyss of ignorance by the grace of the Goddess Kālī, at once began to pour himself forth in poetry. Knowledge of things seen or unseen was no longer any hidden mystery to him. It lay before him all unfolded like the lotus flower touched by the rays of the morning sun. And yet blessed as he was by the great Goddess, Kālidāsa was evidently not so overpowered by

it—did not at any rate lose all consciousness in the contemplation of Her Divine Presence as the poet Mūka. Or he should have also sung beautiful hymns all in praise of Her! Could it not be said rather that Kālidāsa's sense of the beautiful in nature and art lying deep within his soul proved too strong a force for him to resist and he could not rest till he gave himself up to the joy of his immortal works?

Let us take up the Mūkapañcaśatī, those five hundred verses into which the author has poured his heart in one long exquisite and unbroken melody. The poem may be said to be a veritable song indeed expressive of not only the music of the Sanskrit language but all the music that there exists!

"All inmost things" to quote Carlyle again, "are melodious; naturally utter themselves in song. The meaning of song goes deep. Who is there that in logical words can express the effect music has on us? A kind of inarticulate, unfathomable speech which leads us to the edge of the Infinite and lets us for moments gaze into that!" We can see that the Mūkapañcaśatī has this divine quality of music about it.

Shall we then call it a mere devotional hymn which we can hardly treat as a subject of literary criticism? And shall we on that ground think that those qualities which go to make a Mahākāvya are lacking in it? Far from it; we discover on the other hand the poem, though simply voicing forth a spirit of ecstasy born of pure devotion, equally abounds in every variety of thought and expression quite as rich and suggestive.

Consider any verse you choose. You cannot help being thrilled by something indefinable that lies either in the thought or in the mere arrangement of the words so remarkable for sheer beauty of form and sound. It is not a nosegay of beautiful flowers merely that is offered by the poet, but one that has been gathered with the utmost care as it were and with an unerring sense for their fragrance and colour.

Listen to this verse from the Stuti-Śataka. The meaning of it is approximately this:

"To Śrī Kāmākṣī I bow, to Her with the moon on her crest, beautiful and graceful of form, smiling and with tresses, laughing the bees to scorn, who being a very creeper of Kalpaka to the poets sets ablaze the flame of love in Śiva, the destroyer of Manmatha.

चन्द्रापीडां चतुर्वदनां चञ्चलापाङ्गलीञ्जं
 कुन्दस्मेरां कुचभरनतां कुन्तलोद्भूतमृङ्गाम् ।
 मारारतेर्मदनशिखिनं मांसलं दीपयन्तीं
 कामाक्षीं तां कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्लीमुपासे ॥

Apart from the melody of the words do we not see that they convey an indescribably beautiful image to the mind. It is clear that pure Bhakti in itself more than any sense of the beauty of nature can break into the finest poetry. Poetry, they say, reaches its height when the author feels from the innermost depths of his being. Do we not perceive in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa that the poet rises to the summit of his genius only when he forgets himself completely in his adoration of the hero?

When the poet Mūka is struck with a fancy of which he is too rich from beginning to end, he pursues it to such perfection that there is scarcely anything left wanting. Nobody could wish for anything more alluring than the thought or the music of this śloka.

चित्रं चित्रं निजमृदुतया भर्त्सयन्पल्लवालीं
 पुंसां कामान्भुवि च नियतं पूरयन्पुण्यभाजाम् ।
 जातः शैलान्न तु जलनिधेः स्वैरसंचारशीली
 काञ्चीभूषा कलयतु शिवं कोपि चिन्तामणिर्मे ॥

“This unique Cintāmaṇi which laughs to scorn the tender leaves for softness and ever fulfils the desires of fortunate mortals, is sprung not from the ocean but from the mountain. May it bless me”!

Or, this one in which there is not merely the exuberance of fancy but keen wit and observation.

तव त्रस्तं पादात्किसलयमरण्यान्तरमगात्
 परं रेखारूपं कमलममुमेवाश्रितमभूत् ।
 जितानां कामाक्षि द्वितयमपि युक्तं परिभवे
 विदेशे वासो वा शरणगमनं वा निजरिपोः ॥

“The tender leaf not daring to vie with thy feet has fled to the wood, and the lotus as the “rekhās” has taken refuge in those very feet. Banishment or utter surrender is but meet for the enemy in defeat”. Contemplating the graciousness of Her

Kaṭākṣa he is lost in wonder over this paradox that Her Kaṭākṣa while conferring without stint even as the Kalpaka-Vṛkṣa all prosperity and wealth, on those who seek Her, yet steals away all the beauty of the blue lotus and the bee and leaves them wholly poor.

कामाक्षि कल्पविटपीव भवत्कटाक्षो
दिक्षुः समस्तविभवं नमतां नराणाम् ।
भृङ्गस्य नीलनलिनस्य च कान्तिसंपत्
सर्वस्वमेव हरतीति परं विचित्रम् ॥

The poet is transported again with another beautiful idea—for nothing short of that state of bliss in which the soul is completely submerged—can conjure up such a picture of the Devī in the mind. Being gazed at by the Lord Siva, Her eyes, like the lovely lotus, brighten up with the rays of Her love as if by the sun and still they close with shyness as with the advent of the night.

कामाक्षि मन्मथरिपोरवलोकनेषु
कान्तं पयोजमिव तावकमक्षिपातम् ।
प्रेमागमो दिवसवद्विकचीकरोति
लज्जाभरो रजनिवन्मुकुलीकरोति ॥

Again, what surging emotion is expressed in these simple lines of the Āryā metre as the poet speaks of the Devī as a sovereign remedy for all the ills of the world!

शम्पालता सवर्णं संपादयितुं भवञ्जरचिकित्साम् ।
लिम्पामि मनसि किञ्चन कम्पातटरोहि सिद्धमैषज्यम् ॥

The Mūkapañcaśatī seems to be a very store-house of Alaṅkāras. Each verse may be said to be an apt illustration of every one of them. The fact that the conscious use of the Alaṅkāras proves sometimes fatal to the effect of poetry does not hold good in the case of this poet. If at all, it only enhances the charm of his descriptive flight.

Who can miss the beauty of the idea underlying this śloka made doubly attractive by the Alaṅkāra, the Virodhābhāsa.

नीलोऽपि रागमधिकं जनयन्पुरारेः
लोलोऽपि भक्तिमधिकां द्रढयन्नराणाम् ।

वक्रोऽपि देवि नमतां समतां वितन्वन्

कामाक्षि नृत्यतु मयि त्वदपाङ्गपातः ॥

“May thy Kaṭākṣa fall upon me—that Kaṭākṣa though dark yet renders the heart of Śiva aglow with love, though ever restless it yet makes constant the devotion of mortals. It does not proceed straight, but engenders perfect evenness and equanimity in the minds of thy devotees.”

Kālidāsa delineates Pārvatī in his Kumārasambhava much in the same vein. He remarks

पुष्पं प्रवालोलपहितं यदि स्यात्

मुक्ताफलं वा स्फुटविद्रुमस्थम् ।

ततोऽनुकुर्यात् विशदस्य तस्या-

स्ताम्रोष्ठपर्यस्तरुचः स्मितस्य ॥

“Flowers among tender leaves or pearls set amidst corals may bear comparison with the smile playing on her lips.”

Now we shall turn to the śloka from the Mandasmita-śataka.

यान्ती लोहितीमानमभ्रतटिनी धातुच्छटाकर्मैः

भान्ती बालगभस्तिमालिकिरणैर्मैघावली शारदी ।

बिम्बोष्ठयुतिपुञ्जचुम्बनकलाशोणायमानेन ते

कामाक्षि स्मितरोचिषा समदशामारोदुमाकाङ्क्षते ॥

“The waters of the Ganges turning red on account of the dhatu sand or the white clouds with the rays of the morning sun upon them surely long to be compared with thy smile tinged with the hue of thy lips”.

Really the poetic wit of Mūka seems to be on a grander scale than that of Kālidāsa though his description is quite picturesque.

We may find perhaps the poet revelling in the same kind of metaphors and imagery without variation, but it is a marvel he never wearies us. On the other hand we feel we can sit listening to the ślokas all our lives enraptured by the exquisite melody of their language.

Concentration on a single theme and repetition of the same idea may in the case of other poets tend to mar the effect of their poetry. But it is not so with these verses.

The same Bhāva may be repeated a hundred times, but the unique wonder of it is that there is no question of its ever tiring us. Very likely the Bhāvas conceived at the height of the poet's ecstasy, his Ānandāmṛta, have on that very account derived this quality therefrom, of eternal sweetness. We may notice this peculiarity in his style—his love for saying things in a round-about way by which however he succeeds in creating a definite atmosphere.

The number of phrases he employs for the moon occurring in almost every verse is as amazing as it is enchanting. सरसिजदौर्भाग्यम्—The misfortune of the lotus: चकोरसाम्राज्यम्—The all in all of the cakora: कोकद्विद्—The enemy of the cakravāka: कुमुदसुषममैत्रीपात्री—one who is worthy of the friendship of the beautiful kumuda: सरसिजवनीसन्तानामरुन्तदः—The affliction of the progeny of the lotus pond: कमलानामन्धङ्करणौषधम्—The drug which seals the eyes of the lotuses: To mention only a few.

We wonder, whether even Kālidāsa, skilled and conscious artist that he is, can boast of this abundance of the choicest expressions found in the Mūkapañcaśatī. We are lost too much in the music of the diction even to think on the meaning.

The predominant note of all the five śatakas is the Śṛṅgāra. The poet paints the ardent feelings of love between the Devī and Śiva in the most captivating colours just as may be treated of in any Śṛṅgāra Nāṭaka or Kāvya. We find nevertheless he has kept throughout in the region of Bhakti and never strayed away from it to that of actual Śṛṅgāra. Even at the height of it, the border-land dividing Bhakti from Śṛṅgāra is too wide and clear ever to be mistaken. Nowhere indeed can we find any of the lower emotions vitiating the effect of the purity of his devotion.

It is clear, the poet thought to be dumb was one of the worst misfortunes that could affect a mortal. For he remarks in the Āryā Śataka.

मूकोऽपि जटिलदुर्गतिशोकोऽपि स्मरति यः क्षणं भवतीम् ।

एको भवति स जन्तुः लोकोत्तरकीर्तिरेव कामाक्षि ॥

The individual who thinks of you for an instant, be he dumb or the unhappiest mortal on earth, attains the loftiest renown,

Verily to be bereft of speech meant for him to be deprived of that ineffable felicity of being able to sing the glory of the Mother. So he lays special emphasis in his outpourings on this, that the individual whom the Mother has blessed will be endowed with the gift of poetry.

राकाचन्द्रसमानकान्तिवदना नाकाधिराजस्तुता
मूकानामपि कुर्वती सुरधुनीनीकाशवाग्वैभवम् ।
श्रीकाञ्चीनगरीविहाररसिका शोकापहन्त्री सतां ,
एका पुण्यपरम्परा पशुपतेराकारिणी राजते ॥

“Bestowing even on those who are dumb the power of expression as holy and perennial as the Ganges.” Whatever may be the results of reading the Mūkapañcaśatī regularly, one enduring profit is certain. The person who has made it a habit of reciting it with devotion is sure ultimately to gain mastery of the Sanskrit language.

It would be incorrect to say that we have no other poem like it in Śanskrit. There is the Saundarya Laharī of Śrī Śankara, and the Lalitā Devīśatī of the great sage Durvāsa. But they both are to be valued more for their possessing the efficacy of the mantra, the regular chanting of which bestows on the individual the fulfilment of all his desires than for their poetic value.

Though the Mūkapañcaśatī is just an inspired poem singing the glory of Śrī Kāmākṣī, we find in it nevertheless the poet’s knowledge of the Upaniṣads and the Śāstras. For has he expressed anything but the profoundest philosophy in this Śloka?

जगन्नेदं नेदं परमिति परित्यज्य यतिभिः
कुशाग्रीयस्वान्तैः कुशलधिषणैः शास्त्रसरणौ ।
गवेभ्यं कामाक्षि ध्रुवमकृतकानां गिरिसुते
गिरामैदंपर्यं तव चरणमाहात्म्यगरिमा ॥

“The glory of thy feet is such that great sages after renouncing the world seek in the light of the Śāstras, their way unto them as being the only eternal truth revealed in the Vedas.”

It may be seen that he is also familiar with the fine arts. For he points out to a nicety, in the following śloka the details of the planning of the stage.

केशप्रभापटलनीलवितानजाले
 कामाक्षि कुण्डलमणिछविदीपशोभे ।
 कम्पे कटाक्षरुचिरङ्गतले कृपाख्या
 शैल्लषकी नटति शङ्करवल्लभे ते ॥

“On the stage of thy Kaṭākṣa overhung with the curtain the dark sheen of thy hair and illumined by the radiance of the Kuṇḍalas on thy ears, thy mercy plays the part as it were of the actress.”

What pathos is conveyed in this śloka as he speaks of his existence depending upon small-minded men.

जननि भुवने चङ्क्रम्येहं कियन्तमनेहसं
 कुपुरुषकरभ्रष्टैर्दुष्टैर्धनैरुदरम्भरिः ।
 तरुणकरुणे तन्द्राशून्ये तरङ्गय लोचने
 नमति मयि ते किञ्चित्काञ्चीपुरीमणिदीपिके ॥

“Mother, how long am I to wander on this earth eking out my existence with the help of small petty men. Turn thy gracious ever wakeful eye upon me for I have thrown myself at thy feet.”

I can go on in this strain quoting many more verses. But the highly lyrical charm of the Mūkapañcaśatī is rather to be felt than explained. Both word and meaning so wholly merge in each other that they can scarcely be separated. It would be no wonder if the beauty of an idea should be lost in the translation of it into another language.

Allow me then to conclude with these words: these verses, the living expressions of a great soul, a mahābhakta will always make an extraordinary appeal to those who love Sanskrit.

PATAÑJALI, A LAKṢYAIAKACAKṢUS: HIS LOFTY REALISM.

BY

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M.O.L.

Adyar Library.

Pāṇini is a practical grammarian. Kātyāyana, though he generally preserves¹ the spirit of Pāṇini, sometimes misses it and is on such occasions (as in the first of the instances given below) pulled up by Patañjali in whom Pāṇini finds the ablest champion of his lofty realism in grammar. Patañjali does not countenance unnecessary theorization. To him language and grammar are coterminous. He is a Lakṣyaikacakṣus: one who sees Lakṣaṇa through Lakṣya. The difference between Lakṣaṇaikacakṣuṣṭva and Lakṣyaikacakṣuṣṭva is the difference between Idealism and Realism or that between theory and practice. Any linguistic phenomenon which neither the Vedic nor the classical language embodied and was not supported by popular² usage is branded by him as unfit for grammatical treatment. The following instances clearly bear this out.

परेश्व षाङ्कयोः (Pāṇini 8-2-22)

Kātyāyana: सङि लत्वसलोपसंयोगादिलोपकुत्वदीर्घत्वानि प्रयोजनं गिरौ
गिरः पयो धावति द्विष्टरम् दृष्टस्थानम् काष्ठशक्स्थाता
क्रुञ्चाधुर्य इति ।

In the first Vārtika Kātyāyana desires सङि to be read along with certain Sūtras in this Pāda enjoining लत्व etc. In the second he enumerates the purpose for which it has to be read.

Patañjali: एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । काष्ठशगेव नास्ति ; कुतः यः
काष्ठशकि तिष्ठेत् ?

1. Cf. अतिप्रसङ्ग इति चेदभिधानलक्षणत्वात्प्रत्ययस्य सिद्धम् ।

(P. 3. 3. 19, Vārtika. 3) etc.,

2. Cf. the Mahābhāṣya on P 3. 1. 67: नैकमुदाहरणं योगारम्भं प्रयोगे
यति ॥

With reference to काष्ठशक्स्थाता what Kātyāyana says is that if सङि is read along with P. 8. 2. 29. (स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च), the operation of that Sūtra will be restricted to instances which contain सङ् and the elision of क् can be avoided in this case. The word काष्ठशक् itself does not exist, says Patañjali, not to speak of a compound like काष्ठशक्स्थाता.

Cf. also Patañjali on—

- P. 1. 1. 24 यद्येवं प्रियाष्टौ प्रियाष्टा इति न सिद्धयति ।
प्रियाष्टानौ प्रियाष्टान इति च प्राप्नोति । यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 2. 4. 34 यद्येवमेनश्रितको न सिद्धयति ।
एनच्छ्रितक इति प्राप्नोति । यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 1. 86. यद्येवं वेतिऽप्रत्यये उरिथो प्राप्नोति ।
उदिति चेभ्यते । यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 1. 68 यद्येवं कीर्तयतेरप्रत्ययः किरिति प्राप्नोति । कीर्त् इति चेभ्यते ।
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 2. 4. 2 एवमपि कर्तृच कर्तृचे अत्र न प्राप्नोति ।
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 4. 19. तथा वाच्छतेरप्रत्ययो बान् वांशौ वांश इति न सिद्धयति
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 6. 4. 163. पयिष्ठ इति न सिद्धयति । पयसिष्ठ इति प्राप्नोति ।
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥
- P. 7. 2. 106. द्व इति प्राप्नोति । स्व इति चेभ्यते ।
यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते ॥

The commentators¹ on the Mahābhāṣya explain यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते thus:

Kaiyaṭa: नैव वा लक्षणमप्रयुक्ते प्रवर्तते । प्रयुक्तानामेव लक्षणेनान्वाख्यानात् ॥

Nāgeśa: लक्षणस्याभावोऽलक्षणम् । तस्य योग्यता यथालक्षणमव्ययीभावः । अप्रयुक्ते लक्षणाभावस्यैव योग्यता नतु लक्षणस्येत्यर्थः ।

1. See the Pradīpa and the Udyota on P I. I 24.

Kātyāyana very often entertains unreasonable fear and rushes to modify Pāṇini. His intention, it must be noted, is not to criticise Pāṇini but to save the latter from becoming imperfect or faulty in some respect as supposed by him. On such occasions Patañjali brings it home to the Vārtikakāra that no grammar can traverse the actual boundaries of the language with which it is concerned and that the fear entertained by him and the effort made to rectify Pāṇini are both needless and baseless.

The following are two instances illustrative of a host of others.

P. 4. 3. 120. तस्येदम् ।

Kātyāyana: अनन्तरादिषु च प्रतिषेधः

Patañjali explains: अनन्तरादिषु च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

तस्यानन्तरस्तस्य समीप इति किं यद्योगा षष्ठा प्रवर्तत इत्यतो
ऽनन्तरादिषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

Refutes: यद्यप्युच्यते ऽनन्तरादिषु च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य इति, न वक्तव्यः ।
अनभिधानादनन्तरादिषुत्पत्तिर्न भविष्यति ।

P. 4. 4. 83. विध्यत्यधनुषा ।

Kātyāyana: विध्यत्यकरणेन ।

Patañjali: विध्यत्यकरणेनेतिवक्तव्यम् ।

Kātyāyana: इतरथाह्यतिप्रसङ्गः ।

Patañjali explains: अधनुषेति ह्युच्यमाने ऽतिप्रसङ्गो भवति ।

इहापि प्रसज्येत शर्कराभिर्विध्यति कण्टकैर्विध्यति ।

Refutes: तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । कस्मान्न भवति । शर्कराभि-
र्विध्यति । कण्टकैर्विध्यति । अनभिधानात् ॥

Later commentators Lakṣaṇaika - cakṣuṣkas.

The later commentators sometimes lose themselves in the wilderness of theorization, dallying with such conjectural forms as those derived from the addition of आचारक्रिप् to कर्तरिक्विप् etc. The following instances are culled from Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's works, but they have also the support of some other older

commentators. Some of them, namely काव कलत् etc. are taken by him from the works¹ of his predecessors.

Nageśa, the greatest among the later grammarians, is the solitary exception. He reminds us very often in his works the necessity of sustaining Pāṇini's lofty realism: he is Patañjali the second. None who have taken the pains of studying his works closely will ever tire of praising him. It is very unfortunate that modern Oriental scholarship should have been slow to recognise fully the merit of this master-mind. The following exemplifies some later commentators' dry theorization and disgusting indulgence in *nugae*.

अत्रोच्यते । कुस्मायतेः कूरित्वादिसिद्धये संयोगादिति वाच्यमेव ।
किञ्च तक् रक् इत्याद्यर्थमपि । वक्तव्यम् । न चानभिधानं प्रमाणाभावात् ।
कैयटादिभिरुदाहृतत्वाच्च ।

तक्षयतेः क्षिपि तक् ।

रक्षयतेस्तु रक् ।

स्कन्दयतेः स्कन् ।

(Śabdakaustubha, Chowkhamba ed., Vol. I, pp. 303 and 309).

कान्यं कलत्रं शाल्वं चाचक्षाणः काव् कलत् शाल् । आदभ्यतेरध्व् ॥

(Prauḍhamanorama, Kāśī Sanskrit Series ed., Part I, p. 98).

शुष्क्युः पक्युः शुष्क्यः पक्यः

(Pr. Man., Part I, p. 145)

पन्थानमात्मन इच्छति पथायति । ततः क्षिप् । अलोपः । यलोपः ।
एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् पथिमथीत्यात्वम् । थोन्थः । पन्थाः ।

Ibid, Part I, p. 384.

Bhaṭṭoji gives twenty-eight forms of the Sandhi of उ and इति (P. 8. 3. 33: मयउओ वो वा) and one hundred and eight forms of संस्कर्ता (Siddh. Kaum, P. 8. 3. 34). Again in the chapter on the declension of neuters ending in consonants of the same work he has:

²गवाक्शब्दस्य रूपाणि क्लीबेऽर्चागतिभेदतः ।

असन्ध्यवर्द्धूर्वरूपैर्नवाधिकशतं मतम् ॥

1. Prakriyākaumudī, etc.

2. Cf. Patañjali on P. 7. 1. 72: व्यञ्जनपरस्यैकस्यानेकस्य बोधारेणे विशेषाभावः ।

खम्बुषु नवषट्मादौ षट्के स्युस्त्रीणि जशसोः ।

चत्वारि शेषे दशकं रूपाणीति विभावय ॥

ऊह्यभेषां द्विर्वचनानुनासिकविकल्पनात् ।

रू ण्यश्चाक्षिभूतानि (527) भवन्तीति मनीषिभिः ॥

These words have to be searched for elsewhere than in the range (the earth with its seven continents etc., etc.,) described by Patañjali. Even if they are found used by some later writers after the example of these grammarians, it is no genuine proof for their existence. If our approach to Paṇini's grammar is strictly historical and if we examine these words with an open mind, we cannot but observe that some of these later commentators have in this respect fallen short of the high ideal set up by Pāṇini and Patañjali. Let us remember what Patañjali says in Paspāśa :

ये पुनः कार्या भावा निर्वृत्तौ तावत्तेषां यत्नः क्रियते । तद्यथा—घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन् कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह—कुरु घटं कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वच्चन्दान्प्रयुयुक्षमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वाह—कुरु शब्दान्प्रयोक्ष्य इति ।

(Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, pp. 7-8).

As again t what we find in the works of some commentators referred to above, Nāgeśa's following statements may be noted.

¹परे तु न पदान्ता हलोऽणः सन्तीति लणसूत्रस्थभाष्यात् वृक्षवादेनभिधानमेव । भोभगो इति सूत्रेऽश्रग्रहणमनर्थकमन्यत्राभावादिति वार्तिकाच्च । अशोऽन्यत्र तन्निमित्तकारिणो ऽभावादिति तदर्थः । न ह्यन्यत्र रुरस्तीति तद्व्याख्यानभाष्ये रुग्रहणमुपलक्षणम्

(Laghuśabdenduśekhara, Part I, p. 149 Kāśī Sanskrit Series ed.)

किपस्त्वादन्तेभ्यो भाष्यानुक्तक्लिभ्यो ऽनभिधानमेव ।

(p. 364)

एवं च साशब्दादेर्यच्चभिधानम् ।

(p. 365)

आचारकिबन्तप्रकृतिककर्तृकिबन्तस्य भाष्ये काथ्यनुपन्यासेन तेभ्यः कर्तृकिपो ऽनभिधानस्यैव लाभाच्च ।

(pp. 366 and 367)

इतरसूत्रविषयोदाहरणानभिधानम् ।

(p. 413)

अधिकरणे क्यच् तु नास्त्येव अनभिधानात् ।

(p. 460)

मघवनृशब्दस्य लोके ऽसाधुत्वम् ।

(p. 468)

एतेन पर्यायतेः किपि पन्था इत्यादीत्यपास्तम् ।

(p. 473)

नैव वा लक्षणमप्रयुक्ते प्रवर्तते । प्रयुक्तानामेव लक्षणेनान्वाख्याना
दित्यन्त्यव्याख्यानमेव उपायः ।

(p. 473)



VEDIC STUDIES 1. THE ACT OF TRUTH IN THE ṚGVEDA

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

(Continued from page 165, Vol. XIV).

Verse 3 ascribes the freeing of the Dawns to Indu or Soma, who, according to Sāyaṇa, is the moon.

In verse 4, the expression 'navel that wins light' (*svarvidā nābhinā*) is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains it as [aśvaiḥ] *nābhinā sannaddhena svarvidā suṣṭhu-aranīyasya dhanasya lambhakena rathena*; and similarly, GRASSMANN and LUDWIG explain the pāda as 'mit segensreichen Nabe Welt durchdringend' and 'mit der nabe, die das liecht findet, der menschensättiger' respectively. I am disposed to think that the reference here is perhaps to Indra's weapon Vajra, which receives the epithet *svaśāḥ* (= *svarvidā*, 'winning light') in 1,100,13: *tasya vajraḥ krandati smāt svarṣā divo nā tveṣo ravāthaḥ śimīvān* and the epithet *carṣanīdhṛt* (= *carṣanīprāḥ*, 'protecting people') in 8, 90, 5: [*sa tvam śaviṣṭha vajrahasta dāśiṣe 'rvañcam rayim ā kṛd'ri* 411] *tvam indra yāśa asy ṛjīṣi śavasas pate tvam vṛtraṇi haṃsy apratīny eka id ānuttā carṣanīdhṛtā*. This Vajra is mentioned along with Indra's horses in 6, 23, 1: *yād vā yuktābhyām maghavan haribhyām bibhrad vajraṃ bāhvōr indra yāsi*, and is described as Indra's 'old friend' in O, 21, 7: *tava pratnena yujyena saḥhyā vajreṇa dhṛṣṇo āpa tā nudasva*. It is perhaps this 'old friendship' that is referred to as *nābhi* 'navel' (i. e., close relation) in the verse under discussion.

(18) 1, 72, 8: *svādhyo diva ā sapta yahvī
rāyo duro vy ṛtajñā ajānan
vidād gavyam saramā dṛḥam ūrvam
yenā nu kaṃ mānuṣi bhojate viṭ ||*

"The seven (sons) of Heaven, knowers of (spells of) truth, longing, found the mighty doors of wealth. Saramā found the massive cave of the cows from which the clans of men derive enjoyment".

The *svādhyah*¹ spoken of in this verse are the Aṅgirasas. I construe with this word the expression *divaḥ sapta* which signifies 'the seven sons of Heaven'; compare GELDNER's note on 4, 16, 3: "'of Heaven' is equivalent to 'the sons of Heaven'" in *RV. Ueber*, p. 392. They are referred to as *divaḥ sapta kāravaḥ* in 4, 16, 3: *diva itthā jījanat sapta kārūn* he (sc. Indra) produced here the seven poets who are the sons of Heaven'. *sapta* is construed with *yahvīḥ* (explained as 'rivers') by Sāyaṇa, GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*), LUDWIG, GRASSMANN (*RV. Ueber.*) and Oldenberg (SBE. 46, p. 83), while Bergaigne, in III, 232, construes it with *rāyo dūraḥ*.¹

Vyaṣānan 'found' seems to signify, further, 'rent'. The 'wealth' mentioned in pāda b refers, as observed above, to the herd of cows (*gomayaṃ vasu*) imprisoned in the mountain.

Saramā, mentioned in c, is the divine dog who takes part, along with the Aṅgirasas, Bṛhaspati, Indra and others, in the discovery and release of the cows imprisoned in Vala. As we shall see below, she too is said to have discovered the cows by means of 'the path of *ṛta*', that is, by means of (a spell of) truth.

ūrva signifies 'hole, cave, cavity', that is, the mountain-cave in which the cows were confined. In the second half, we have to supply the word *tena* to correspond with the word *vena*. The expression *yenā nu kaṃ mānuṣī bhojate viḥ* refers to the milk of the cows; see Sāyaṇa's commentary and compare also 3, 30, 14: *māhi jyōtir nhitam vakṣaṇāsv āmā pakvaṃ carati bibhratī gauḥ viśvaṃ svādma sambhṛtam usriyāyām yat sīm indro adadhad bhojanāya*.

Regarding the finding of milk in connection with the Vala myth, compare 3, 31, 11: *sa jātebhīr vṛtrahā sed u havyaḥ ud*

1. In II, 135, on the other hand, he seems to have construed it with *dīvo yahvīḥ*.

usriyā asṛjad indro arkaiḥ| urūcy āsmai ghr̥tavā bhārantī
 madhu svādma duduhe jēnyā gauḥ; 6, 17, 6: tava kratvā tava
 tad dāṃsanābhir āmāsu pakvām śacyā nī dīdhah| aurnor dūra
 usriyābhyo vi dṛḥhodūrvād gā asṛjo āṅgirāsvān and 8, 32, 25:
 ya udnah phaligam bhinan nyak sindhūñr avāsṛjat| yo goṣu
 pakvām dhārayat.

(19) 5, 45, 8: viśve asyā vyūṣi māhināyāḥ
 saṃ yad gobhir āṅgirasō nāvanta|
 utsa āsām paramē sadhastha
 ṛtasya pathā saramā vidad gāḥ||

“When, at the dawning of this great one, all the Aṅgirasas roared with the cows,—their spring is in the highest abode—Saramā found the cows by the path of truth”.

As explained above under 4, 3, 11, the ‘roaring of the Aṅgirasas with the cows’ refers to the sound made by the Aṅgirasas, when they uttered spells of truth for the purpose of rending the mountain and freeing the cows. *ṛtasya*, in pāda d, means ‘of a spell of truth’. This spell does not seem to be the one uttered by the Aṅgirasas; on the other hand, it is more probable that, like Indra and Bṛhaspati, Saramā too joined the Aṅgirasas when they uttered the spell of truth, and that the reference here is to the spell of truth uttered by her. See 3, 31, 6 explained below. Sāyaṇa explains *ṛtasya pathā* as *satyasya mārgaṇa*.

(20) 5, 45, 7: ānūnod ātra hastayato ādrir
 ārcan yena dāśa māso navagvāḥ|
 ṛtaṃ yatī saramā gā avindat
 viśvāni satyāṅgirāś cakāra||

“The pressing-stone, guided by the hands, made here a loud sound by which the Navagvas sang for ten months. Attaining the (spell of) truth, Saramā found the cows; Aṅgiras performed all acts of truth”.

Pāda c. *ṛtaṃ yatī saramā gā avindat* has the same signification as pāda, d, *ṛtasya pathā saramā vidad gāḥ* of 5, 45, 8 explained above. Compare also Sāyaṇa’s explanation *ṛtaṃ satyam yajñam vā yatī prāpnuvatī*.

Regarding the expression *satyā cakāra*, compare the expression *kyñomi satyām* in AV. 4, 18, 1 explained above and the observations made in that connection. The singular *āṅgiras* here seems to stand for the plural, *jātāv eka-vacanam*. Or, does it refer to Indra who, as mentioned above, is described as 'chief *Āṅgiras*'?

The meaning of *pādas* cd is, thus, 'Saramā found the cows by means of a spell of truth when *Āṅgiras* (or, the *Angirases*) too uttered spells of truth'. Compare 3, 31, 6-7 explained below.

(21) 3, 31, 5-7: *vīḷau satīr abhi dhīrā atṛndan*
prācā hinvan manasā saptā viprāḥ|
viśvām avindan pathyām ṛtasya
prajānann it tā namasā viveśa||
vidad yadī saramā rugṇām adrer
mahi pāthaḥ pūrvyām sadhryak kaḥ|
agram nayat supādy akṣarāṇām
acchā ravam prathamā jānatī gāt||
agacchad u vipratamaḥ sakhīyann
asūdayat sukṛte garbham adriḥ|
sasāna māryo yuvabhir makhasyann
athābhavad āṅgirāḥ sadyo arcan||

"The seven sagacious bards cut a path for those (*fem.*) that were in the fortress and drove them out by a forward-turned spell; they found every path of truth. The sagacious (*Indra*) burst in upon them with a prayer.

"When *Saramā* found the cleft in the mountain, she drove the *primaeval* water which was together; she with the fine feet led the van of the imperishable ones; she first went towards the sound, recognising it.

"(*Indra*), the best of seers, went there to make friends; the mountain put out the foetus for the well-doer. The youth, fighting, won, along with the youths; then, uttering spells, he became an *Āṅgiras* in the same instant."

In v. 5, 'those in the fortress' in *pāda* a are the cows imprisoned in the mountain. *viśvām avindat pathyām ṛtasya* in

b has the same sense as *viśvāni satyā' nīgirāś cakāra* in pāda d of 5, 45, 7 explained above; 'they found every path of truth' means 'they employed every spell of truth; they employed spells of truth on every occasion'. It is this spell of truth that is referred to by the expression *prācā manasā* (= *prācā mantreṇa*) in b; compare with it 7, 67, 5: *prācīm u devāśvinā dhiyam me' mṛdhrām sātaye kṛtaṁ vasūyūm. prajānān*, in d, seems to refer to Indra, and *nāmasā*, to the spell of truth employed by him.

Regarding v. 6, the interpretations given by the exegetists differ widely from one another. Sāyaṇa explains it as: *yadi yadā saramā indreṇa gavānveśanārthaṁ preṣitā saramā nāma deva-śunī adreḥ rugṇaṁ bhagnaṁ dvāraṁ vidat alabhata tadāniṁ indraḥ mahi mahat pūrvaṁ pūrvam preṣaṇa-kāle 'nnādinam te prajāṁ kṛiṣyāmi iti pratijñātaṁ sadhryak itarair api bhojyaiḥ sadhrīcinam pāthaḥ gavyādi-lakṣaṇam annam kaḥ akārṣit tasyai dattavān | tataḥ supadī śobhana-pāda-yuktā sā saramā akṣarāṇām kṣaya-rahitānām gavām agraṁ prāntam nayat prāpnot | kuta ity ata āha | yataḥ ravaṁ teṣāṁ hambhā-ravaṁ prathamā prathamam jānati satī accha śabdāchimukhyena gāt jagāma. GELDNER (RV. Ueber.) translates it as, "Wenn die Saramā den Spalt in Fedlsen findet, so wird sie ihren früheren grossen Schutz vollständig machen'. Die Leichtfussige leitete die Reden ein; kundig ging sie als erste auf das Gebrüll zu", GRASSMANN (RV. Ueber.) as, "Als Saramā den Spalt des Felsens auffand, da bahnte sie den, alten Himmelspfad, der zu einem Ziele hinführt; mit sicherm Fuss geht sie voran; der unversieglichen [Kühe oder Ströme] Getön erkennend, kam sie zuerst hin" and Ludwig as, "Als Saramā den ris des felsen fand, [plünderte] raffte sie zusammen dem grosen alten ort, mit gutem fuze fürte sie an der spitze der gewässer, zuerst war zum gebrüll sie die wol kundige gekommen". Further, in an article published in ZDMG. 54, p. 599 ff., it has been contended by OLDENBERG that the word *pāthaḥ* does not signify 'water' at all in the RV, and he has translated pāda b of the above verse as 'die grosse alte Stätte vereint machte'.*

The above-mentioned interpretations of the word *pāthaḥ* seem to me to be all unsatisfactory, and I believe that the

meaning 'water' suits it best in this passage. Compare 3, 31, 16: *apaś cid eṣa vibhvo damūnāḥ pra sadhricīr asṛjad viśvaś-candrāḥ* "This lord (Indra) released the all-shining mighty waters that were together", which occurs in the same hymn, that is, in connection with the same Vala myth; and note how the words *vibhvah* and *sadhricīh* of this verse correspond to the words *māhi* and *sadhryak* in v. 6b¹ *kaḥ*, in 6b, signifies 'drove out, impelled', just as *kṛta* in the expression *kāmena kṛta* (6, 49, 8; 6, 58, 3-4) signifies 'impelled; *getrieben*' (see Pischel, Ved. St., 1, 22); and thus the only difference between v. 6b and v. 16ab is that the former speaks of 'water' (*pāthaḥ*) in the singular, while the latter speaks of 'waters' (*apāḥ*) in the plural.

Regarding the epithet *pūrvyam* 'primaeval' applied to water, compare 10, 30, 10: *ṛṣe janitrīr bhuvanasya patnīr apo vandasva savṛdhaḥ sayonīḥ* "Make obeisance, O seer, to the Waters, the creators and lords of the world, that have grown up together in the same womb", and the passages cited in VVSt. 1 p. 162.

In the translation given above, I have made *saramā* subject of the verb *kaḥ*, because it is the subject of the verb *vidad* in pāda a, and of *nayat* and *gāt* in pādas cd also. It is however possible that the subject intended by the poet may be *indrah*, mentioned in verse 4d. Compare 3, 31, 16 cited above; hymn 3, 31 is addressed to Indra, and as said above, *prjānan* in v. 5d refers in all probability to him.

In pāda c, *akṣarāṇām* denotes, according to the interpretations reproduced above, cows, speeches, waters or rivers. The expression *āgraṃ nayat* however in that pāda is synonymous with *prathamā gāt* in the next; and it would seem therefore that *akṣarāṇām* refers to the persons that followed the guidance of Saramā, to wit, the Aṅgirasas, who are said in 10, 62, 1:

1. It may be noted that the word *sadhryak* or its equivalent *sadhricīna*, *sadhricīna*, nowhere occurs in the RV as an epithet of words signifying 'place'; see Grassmann s. v.

yē yajñēna dākṣiṇayā sāmaktā indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvām ānaśa to have attained immortality (*amṛtatvām*). The only objection against this interpretation is the fact that *akṣara* is not, even in later Sanskrit literature, used as a synonym of *amartya*. If this objection be regarded as insuperable, I would then understand *akṣara* here as 'speech', a sense which the word has in 7, 15, 9: *ūpa tvā sātaye nāro viprāso yanti dhītibhiḥ | upākṣarā sahasrīṇi*. The 'speeches' referred to would be the spells of truth uttered by Saramā, the Aṅgirasas, Indra, etc.; and the pāda would thus signify that Saramā was the first in uttering a spell of truth and that her example was followed by the Aṅgirasas, etc. *supādī* should then be interpreted as 'she who has fine words'.

In verse 7, it is the object of the poet to describe how Indra became an Aṅgiras. The verse says that Indra went to the Aṅgirasas offering his friendship (pāda a), that this offer was accepted and Indra became one of the Aṅgirasas (pāda d), that, chanting (a spell of truth), he and his friends (*yuvabhiḥ*) offered battle and won (pāda c), and that the mountain gave up the foetus, that is, the cows and waters, etc., that had been imprisoned (pāda b).

(22) 1, 71, 2-3: *vīlu cid dṛḥhā pitāro na ukthair
ādrim rujann aṅgirasas rāveṇa |
cākrur divo bṛhatō gātum asme
āhaḥ svar vividuḥ ketum usrāḥ ||
dādhann ṛtaṁ dhanāyann asya dhītīm
ād id aryo didhiṣvo vibhitrāḥ |
atṛṣyantīr apāso yanty acchā
devāñ jānma prayasā vardhayantīḥ ||*

"Our fathers, the Aṅgirasas, have cleft even solid fortresses by means of spells, the mountain by their shout. They have made for us a path to the wide heaven. They found the day, the sun, and the herald of the Dawns"(after) they upheld the truth and made current its spell. Then, the wooing (prayers) of the rich (sacrificer), that have spread themselves, unthirsting,

active, go to the tribes of the gods, strengthening them with pleasing (food)".

In verse 2, *ukthaiḥ* denotes the spells of truth uttered by the Aṅgirasas, and *rāva* the loud sound produced by the utterance. The *vīḷu dṛḷhā* are the same as the *ādri*. The meaning of the fourth pāda is, 'they set free the imprisoned Dawns, dispelled the darkness, made the sun mount the sky, and caused the day'.

The first pāda of verse 3 forms one sentence with pāda d of verse 2, and we have to supply a word like 'after' between them. *ṛtaṁ dadhan* is equivalent to *ṛtaṁ yemuḥ* and *asya* (*ṛtasya*) *dhūm dhanayan* to *ṛtaṁ āśuṣāṇāḥ* in 4, 2, 14 explained above.

In pādas 2, 3, the meaning of the word *didhiṣvaḥ*, *vibhṛtrāḥ*, and *atrīśyantīḥ* is not clear; and I have, above, mostly followed the translation given by OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 74), supplying also, like him, the word 'prayers' after these words. The two pādas signify, according to GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*): "Since then, the covetous (thoughts) of the rival sacrificer are (like) children that are carried; the desireless (thoughts) of the skilled (singer) only go to them", and according to LUDWIG, "Then, distributing themselves among the pious desirers, (themselves) not thirsting, the clever (Dawns) approach". According to Sāyaṇa, those who approach are the *yajamāṇa-lakṣaṇāḥ prajāḥ*.

Concerning the expression 'wooing prayers', see Bergaigne, II, 268 ff.

Regarding verse 3 d, I cannot agree with Oldenberg in his opinion (op. cit., p. 77) that *devāṇ janma* = *devām janma*, and that *devām* is the genitive plural (without the augment -n-) of *devā*, in the same way as in 1, 70, 6: *etā cikitvo bhūmā nī pāhi devānām janma mātāmś ca vidvān*, *mātām* is the genitive plural of *māta*. This latter verse does not signify, "Protect, O knowing one, these beings, thou who knowest the birth of gods and men" as Oldenberg believes (p. 70, op. cit.), but 'Protect, O knowing one, these beings, thou that observest the tribes of gods and men'; compare Geldner's translation, 'Du,

Kundiger, schutze diese Geschöpfe, der du die Geschlechter der Götter und Sterblichen kennst',¹ and the verses 2, 6, 7 (*antār hy agna iyase vidvān janmobhayā kave*) and 9, 73, 8 referred to by him. *devānām janma martāmś ca=devānām janmāni martāmś ca=devajanmāni martajanmāni ca*. Similarly, in 1, 71, 3d too *janma=janmāni*; and *devān janmāni*=the tribes that are the gods, i.e., the tribes of the gods.

Pādas b c d say that, after the Aṅgirasas found the Dawns, the sun and the day, pious sacrificers began to offer prayers and pleasing food to the gods.

(23) 10, 67, 2-3: *ṛtaṃ śamsanta ṛju dīdhyānā*
divas putrāso asurasya vīrāḥ|
vīpraṃ padam āṅgirasas dadhānā
yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta||
haṃsair iva sakhibhir vāvadbhir
aśmanmayāni nahanā vyasyan|
brhaspatir abhikanikradad gā
uta prāstauc ca vidvān agāyat||

"Uttering the (spell of) truth, and thinking righteously, the valiant Aṅgirasas, sons of the mighty Dyaus, bearing the word 'bard', praised first the worshipful one.

"With the companions who were crying loudly like swans, Brhaspati, observing and removing the stony bonds, roared towards the cows, and praised and sang loudly".

The signification of *vīpraṃ padam dadhānāḥ* is v. 2c is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains the expression as *vīpraṃ prajñāpakam yajñasya dhāma dhārakam padam brhaspaty-ākyaṃ dadhānāḥ karmaṇā dhārayantaḥ santaḥ prathamam ādita eva mananta stuvanti| prajñāpakam hy etat sthānam yad brhaspatir iti*, Ludwig as, 'winning the position of holy singers', and Grassmann as 'guiding (?) their step to the singer'. I prefer to interpret *padam* as 'word', and *vīpraṃ padam dadhānāḥ* as 'bearing the word (i.e., name) *vīpra*', i.e., known by the name of 'bard'.

1. LUDWIG'S translation too is similar to that of GELDNER.

yajñā, in pāda d, signifies *yajanīya* or 'worshipful'; see VVSt. 1, p. 7. Who the worshipful was whom the Aṅgirasas praised as a preliminary to their *satya-kriyā*, we do not know. Regarding such preliminary adoration, see the observations of Burlingame cited above in the explanation of 4, 2, 14-16.

In v. 3, the expression *hamsair iva vāvadadbhiḥ* refers to the loud sound produced by the Aṅgirasas when uttering the spell of truth. Similarly, the words *kanikradat*, *astaut*, and *udagāyat* too refer to the spell of truth uttered by Bṛhaspati in company with the Aṅgirasas. *abhikanikradad gaḥ* 'roared towards the cows'=spoke loudly a spell of truth for the purpose of (rending the mountain and) freeing the cows.

The meaning of verses 2, 3 thus is: the Aṅgirasas praised the worshipful one first and then uttered the spell of truth; Bṛhaspati joined them in the utterance, and as a result, the stony enclosure imprisoning the cows was removed and the cows were released.

(24) 2, 24, 14: brahmaṇaspāter abhavad yathāvaśaṃ
satyo manyur mahi karmā kariṣyataḥ|
yo gā udājat sa dive vi cābhajan
mahiva rītiḥ śavasā sarat prthak||

"The spell of truth of Brahmanaspāter, who was about to perform a great feat, acted as desired; he who drove forth the cows gave them to Heaven; (the herd of cows), like a mighty current, moved forward impetuously with strong force".

manyuḥ=spell (cp. Sāyaṇa's explanation, *manyuḥ manana-sādhano mantraḥ*), and *satyo manyuḥ*=*satya-mantraḥ* or *satya-vacanam*.

The 'great feat that he was about to perform' is, of course, the rending of the mountain and the freeing of the Waters and the cows. As already pointed out in VVSt. 1, p. 145, *iva* in pāda d has the force of *ca* and signifies 'and'.

(25) 10, 108, 11: dūram ita paṇayo varīya
ud gāvo yantu minatīr ṛtena|
bṛhaspatir yā avindan nigūlhāḥ
somo grāvāṇa ṛṣayaś ca viprah||

"Go away, far away, ye Paṇis. Let the lowing cows come out, the cows, which had been hidden and which, by means of a (spell of) truth, Bṛhaspati found, (and also), Soma, the pressing-stones, and the inspired ṛṣis".

Hymn 10, 108, in which the above verse occurs, is a dialogue between the Paṇis who had hidden the cows and Saramā who had been sent by Indra to discover them. The above is the last verse in the hymn and is spoken by Saramā. I construe *ṛtena* with *avindat*, because we know (see above) that Bṛhaspati, with the Angirases, uttered spells of truth for freeing the cows.

It is also possible to construe *ṛtena* with *udyanu* or *minatīḥ*. In the former case, pāda b would signify "Let the lowing cows come out with the (spell of) truth, that is, as soon as the spell of truth is uttered". In the latter case, *ṛtena minatīḥ* means 'lowing with the (spell of) truth', that is, 'blending their cries with the sound of the spell of truth'; compare in this connection the observations under no. 14 above.

ṛṣayo viprāḥ, in d, are the Aṅgirases.

(26) 10, 47, 6: ra¹ sap¹tagum ṛ¹tadhī¹tiṃ su¹medhā¹m
 bṛ¹haspa¹tiṃ ma¹tir ac¹chā¹ ji¹gā¹ti |
 ya ā¹ṅgi¹raso na¹ma¹sopa¹sadyo
 'sma¹bhya¹m ci¹tra¹m vṛ¹ṣa¹ṇa¹m ra¹yi¹m dā¹ḥ ||

"Our praise goes forth to Bṛhaspati who has seven cows, uses spells of truth and is sagacious, the son of Aṅgiras who is to be approached with obeisance. Confer on us wealth which is strong and beautiful".

The 'seven cows' of Bṛhaspati seem to be the seven prayers (see Bergaigne, II, 145); that is, the prayers of the 'seven bards (*vipra*)' or Angirases; see Geldner's note on 4, 50, 4 in op. cit., p. 435. Since Bṛhaspati explicitly receives the name of Aṅgiras here, there is no doubt that *ṛtadhīti* has the same meaning as it has when it is used in connection with the Aṅgirases, namely, 'he who has (*i.e.*, employs) spells of truth'; see 6, 39, 2 explained above. Pāda d is the refrain common to all the verses of this hymn.

(27) 2, 23, 3: \bar{a} vibādhyā parirāpas tāmāṃsi ca
 jyotiṣmantam ratham ṛtasya tiṣṭhasi|
 bṛhaspate bhīmam amitradambhanaṃ
 rakṣoḥaṇaṃ gotrabhidaṃ svarvidam||

“Driving away the evaders and darkness, thou, O Bṛhaspati, ascendest the chariot of truth, that is brilliant, terrible, that injures enemies, destroys demons, pierces mountains and wins the sun.”

The spell of truth (*ṛta*) by means of which Bṛhaspati overcomes the Paṇis, destroys demons, dispels darkness, rends mountains, and wins the sun, is here (by the use of Rūpa-kālaṃkāra) called his chariot.

The meaning of *parirāpaḥ* (so according to the Padapāṭha; is the word really *parirāpaḥ*?) in pāda a is not certain. Sāyaṇa explains it as *parirāpaḥ pāpa-rūpaṃ rakṣaḥ...yad vā parivad-ato nindakān*, Grassmann as ‘humming round, humming horribly. whispering sinisterly’, HILLEBRANDT (*Lieder d. RV.* p. 26) as ‘abuse’, and LUDWIG as ‘evil-speakers’. GELDNER (*RV. Ueber.*) interprets it as ‘excuse’, pointing out in the note that the allied word *parirāpin* occurs in AV. 5, 7, 2 (*yam arāte purodhatse puruṣam parirāpiṇam| nāmas te tasmai kṛṇmaḥ*) and 12, 4, 51 (*ye vaśāyā adānāya vudanti parirāpiṇaḥ| indrasya manyave jālmā ā vṛścante acittyā*), and seems to denote people who seek, by means of excuses, to evade payment of fees due to priests. I am inclined to accept this interpretation, with the substitution however, of ‘revilings’ instead of ‘excuses’; and it is my belief that *parirāpaḥ* also means likewise ‘people who, by means of revilings, seek to evade payment of fees due to priests’. This unwillingness to pay priests is the very characteristic that distinguishes the Paṇis (see *Ved. Stud.*, 1, pp. XXIV, XXV, and 126); and thus there seems to be no doubt that it is the Paṇis who are referred to here by the word *parirāpaḥ*.

gotra=mountain harbouring (i.e., imprisoning) cows.

(28) 2, 24, 8: ṛta¹jyena¹ kṣipreṇa¹ brahmaṇaspatir¹
 yatra¹ vaṣṭi¹ pra¹ tad¹ aśnoti¹ dhanvanā¹
 tasya¹ sādhvīr¹ īṣavo¹ yābhir¹ asyati¹
 nṛcakṣaso¹ drśāye¹ karṇayonayah¹||

“With the quick-shooting bow which has the truth for bow-string, Brhaspati hits wherever he likes. The arrows belonging to him, the beholder of men, with which he shoots, are excellent, and are seen to have the ears for their home”.

The truth is, in this verse, compared to the string of a bow; the arrows shot with this bow (*i.e.*, the mouth) are the spells of truth which achieve all the objects that Brhaspati has in view. *yoni*, in *karṇayoni* signifies, not ‘womb’ (*utpatti-sthāna*), but ‘home, resting-place’.

(29) 2, 24, 2-3: yo¹ nantvāny¹ anaman¹ ny ojaso-
 tādar¹dar¹ manyunā¹ śambarāṇi¹ vi¹||
 prācyāvaya¹d ācyutā¹ brahmaṇaspatir¹
 ā cāvīśad¹ vasumantaṃ¹ vi¹ parvatam¹||
 tad¹ devānāṃ¹ devatamāya¹ kartvam¹
 āsrathnan¹ dr̥ḥhā¹ vradanta¹ vilitā¹||
 ud¹ gā¹ ājad¹ abhinad¹ brahmaṇā¹ valam¹
 agūhat¹ tamo¹ vy¹ acakṣayat¹ svah¹||

“Who, with force, bent the bendable ones, Brahmanaspati rent the fortresses of Śambara and others by means of a spell, shook the unshakable ones, and burst in by force into the mountain containing wealth;

“that was the work (set) for the godliest of the gods. They broke the massive ones to pieces and made weak those which were strong. By means of a spell, he (Brahmanaspati) drove out the cows, pierced Vala, hid the darkness, and made the sun shine”.

manyu = *mantra* or spell; compare Sāyaṇa’s explanation *manyunā manunā krodhena vā*. *śambarāṇi* = fortresses (*purāḥ*) of Śambara and other demons; see Geldner’s note in his *RV. Ueber* The ‘wealth’ contained in the mountain is, of course, the cows imprisoned in it.

In v. 3^b, *āśrathnan* has been explained by all the exegetists (Sāyaṇa, GELDNER, LUDWIG, GRASSMANN) as a passive or intransitive verb. I find it difficult to subscribe to this view inasmuch as, in the RV, *śrath*, in the Parasmaipada, is always transitive and governs an object; and I have therefore construed *dr̥ḷhā* as the object of *āśrathnan*. As subject of this verb and, perhaps, of *avradanta* also, we have to supply the word *te*, referring to the Aṅgīrasas. *dr̥ḷhā* and *vīḷitā* both refer to the mountains that imprisoned the cows.

The spell (*manyu*, *brahman*) mentioned in these two verses is, as we have seen above, a spell of truth.

(30) 10, 67, 5-8: vibhīdyā puram śayathem apācīm
 nis trīṇi sākam udadher akṛṇtat|
 br̥haspatir uśasaṃ sūryaṃ gām
 arkam viveḷa stanayann iva dyauḥ||
 indro valaṃ rakṣitāraṃ dughānām
 kareṇeva vi cakartā raveṇa|
 svedāñjibhir āśīraṃ icchamāno
 'rodayat paṇim ā gā amuṣṇāt||
 sa īm satyebhiḥ sakhibhiḥ śucadbhir
 godhāyasaṃ vi dhanasair adardah|
 brahmaṇaspatir vṛṣabhir varāhair
 gharmaśvedebhir draviṇaṃ vy ā. aṭ||
 te satyena manasā gopatiṃ gā
 iyānāsa iṣanayanta dhībhiḥ|
 br̥haspatir mitho-avadyapebhir
 ud usriyā asṛjata svayugbhiḥ||

"Shattering the westward-turned fort, the lairs, Br̥haspati cut out at the same time from the water-reservoir three things, (namely), the Dawn, the sun, the cow; he uttered the hymn loudly thundering like the sky.

"As if with a sword, Indra, with a roar, cut Vala who was keeping watch over the cows; desiring milk, he, with the sweat-adorned ones stole the cows from the Paṇi and made him weep.

"With the truth-speaking companions, who were effulgent and winners of wealth, he rent (the mountain) containing cows; with the strong boars, perspiring with heat, Brahmanaspati attained to the wealth.

"Desiring cows by means of a spell of truth, they shattered the watcher of cows with spells. With his companions who protected one another from sin, Brhaspati delivered the cows".

These verses are addressed to Brhaspati and refer to his rending of Vala and freeing of the cows, etc., in the company of the Āṅgirasas; pādas ab of verse 6, however, speak of Indra.

In verse 5, *śayāthā* in pāda a is construed with the words of pāda b by LUDWIG who translates the two pādas as, 'als er gespaltet die westliche burg, löste er mit der schneidenden waffe drei lager aus dem meere', and observes (V. 480) that the three 'lairs' are the sky, atmosphere, and earth. GRASSMANN, on the other hand, construes *sāyāthā* with *vibhidya*, which course seems to me to be correct; see OLDENBERG, *RV. Noten*.

The 'three' referred to in pāda b are the Dawn, sun, and cow mentioned in c. *udadhi* 'water-reservoir' refers to the fortress of Vala in which were imprisoned, not only the cows, dawns, and the sun, but the Waters also; and it is very probable that the expression *udadher nirakṛntat* refers to the cutting of the *udadhi* itself, that is to say, to the delivery of the Waters also.

Viveda, in pāda d, is regarded by LUDWIG, GRASSMANN and GELDNER (*Ved. St.*, 2, p. 278) as the perfect form of the root *vid* 'to obtain' governing the objects *uśasam*, *suryam*, *gaṁ arkam*. According to this construction however the number of things found by Brhaspati is not three as represented by pāda b, but four. Moreover, among the many other passages in the RV which speak of the rending of Vala and the freeing of the cows, etc., there is not even one which refers to the finding (or winning) of a hymn; and it thus becomes clear that this construction is not satisfactory. I propose therefore to regard *viveda* as the perfect form of the root *vid* 'to know.' *Arkam viveda* is thus the equivalent of *arkam amanuta* and signifies, 'uttered a spell loudly': compare the sense which *man* has in 10

13, 1; 4, 1, 16 and 10, 67, 2 explained above. Compare also 10, 114, 1: *vidūr devāḥ sahasāmānam arkam* 'the gods uttered loudly the ṛk along with the sāman'.

In v. 6b, *kara* is interpreted as 'hand' by Sāyaṇa and other exegetists. The verb *vicakarta* however shows that this meaning cannot be right, and I therefore translate it as 'sword'. Compare the words *karapattra* 'saw' and *karavāla* 'small sword, dagger' that are in use in later Sanskrit literature; compare also Ludwig's alternative explanation of the word as 'messer' on V, 480. In pāda d, *rava* refers not only to the spell of truth uttered by Indra, but also to the spells uttered by his companions the Aṅgirasas who are referred to in pāda c by the word *svedāñji* 'sweat-adorned'.

In verse 7, I interpret *satyebhiḥ* as 'truth-speaking', i.e., 'speaking spells of truth', following Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word as *satya-vādibhiḥ* in his commentary on this verse in TB (2, 8, 5, 1); compare also the analogous use of this word in 7, 75, 7 explained below. It is also interesting to note that Sāyaṇa there interprets *śucadbhiḥ* as *śuddhi-yuktaiḥ* that is, as *śucibhiḥ*; and one should compare in this connection the passages from the Āśvalāyana-gr̥hyasūtra-pariśiṣṭa and other works cited above in the explanation of 4, 1, 13-17.

Draviṇam in pāda d, as also *dhana* in *dhanasaiḥ* in b, refers to the cows imprisoned in the mountain.

In verse 8, *satyena manasā* = *satyena mantreṇa* 'with a spell of truth'; *gopatim* is equivalent to *rakṣitāraṃ dughānām* in v. 6a and refers to Vala; *iṣṇayanta* = *airayan*, 'shattered'; see the explanation of AV. 6, 47, 3 given above. *Svayugbhiḥ*, in d, refers to the Aṅgirasas.

(31) 10, 68, 6: *yadā valasya piyato jasum bhed
br̥haspatir agnitapobhir arkaiḥ
dadbhīr na jihvā pariviṣṭam ādad
āvīr nidhīr akr̥ṇod usriyāṇām*

'When Bṛhaspati, with spells glowing like fire, pierced the languor of Vala, took (the herd of cows) that had been en-

closed, just as the tongue eats what has been chewed by the teeth; he brought to light the treasures of cows”.

‘Piercing the languor of Vala’ signifies ‘putting an end to the languor caused by Vala; releasing from the hold of Vala’. *arkaiḥ*=spells (of truth); compare Sāyaṇa’s explanation *arcanīyaiḥ rasmibhiḥ| api vā mantraiḥ* and also the explanation of GELDNER in *RV. Komm.*, p. 173. Pāda c contains a *śleṣa* based on the different meanings of the words *pariviṣṭam* and *ādat*. The meaning is: yathā jihvā dadbhīḥ pariviṣṭam paritaḥ khāditaḥ bhakṣyam ādat atti tathā bṛhaspatiḥ pariviṣṭam valena parivṛtaḥ goyūthaḥ ādat ādade.

(32) 10, 68, 8-9: *āśnāpinaddham madhu pary apaśyan*
matsyaḥ nā dīna udāni kṣīyantam|
niṣ taj jabhāra camasaḥ nā vrkṣād
bṛhaspatir viraveṇā vikṛtya||
soṣam avindat sa svaḥ so agnīm
so arkeṇa vi babādhe tamāṁsi|
bṛhaspatir govapuṣo valāśya
nir majjānaḥ nā parvaṇo jabhāra||

“He saw the sweet thing covered with the stone just as one sees a fish dwelling in a small quantity of water (that is, a fish in shallow water). Bṛhaspati drew it out, as one does a drinking cup from the wood, after cutting it by means of a shout.

“By means of a spell, he won the Dawn, the sun, the fire; he destroyed the darkness; he took out (the herd of cows) from Vala who had imprisoned the cows in his body, as one takes out the marrow from a joint”.

In verse 8, *madhu* in pāda a refers to the herd of cows. In verse 9, *govapuṣaḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *gorūpa-śarīra-sya*. GRASSMANN explains it (s. v.) similarly as ‘die Gestalt der Kühe habend’, and Geldner (*RV. Komm.* p. 229) as ‘dessen Staat die Kühe sind oder stiergestaltig’, while Bergaigne’s explanation too is similar. Ludwig, on the other hand, translates the word as ‘des uuf seinen kühe stolzen’, and OLDENBERG (*RV. Noten*) as ‘als Wundererscheinung die Kühe (bei sich, in sich)

habend'. For my part, I regard *govapuṣaḥ* as a *vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi* (gāvaḥ vapuṣi śarīre yasya saḥ) signifying 'he who holds cows within his body', i.e., 'he who encloses the cows within his self'. *Govapuṣo valasya* is thus equivalent to the expression *valasya gomataḥ* which occurs in 1, 11, 5; *tvaṃ valasya gomato 'pāvar adrivo bilam*.

Viraveṇa in v. 8 and *arkaiḥ* in v. 9 both refer to the spells (of truth) employed by Bṛhaspati. It must be borne in mind that the exploit of rending the mountain and freeing the Waters, etc., was performed, not by Indra or Bṛhaspati alone, but in the company of the Aṅgirasas, who also uttered spells of truth on the occasion.

(33) 6, 73, 3: bṛhaspatīḥ sam ajayad vaśūni
maho vrajān gomato deva esah
apaḥ siśāsan svar apratīto
bṛhaspatir hantya amitram arkaiḥ||

"This god, Bṛhaspati, won wealth, great stables full of cows. Desirous of winning the Waters, and the sun, Bṛhaspati, irresistible, strikes the enemy with spells".

arkaiḥ = spells (of truth).

(34) 4, 50, 1: yas tastāmbha sahasā vi jmo antān
bṛhaspatīs triśadhastho raveṇa
taṃ prasnāsa ṛṣayo dīdhyānāḥ
puro viprā dadhire mandrajīhvam||

"Bṛhaspati, who has three abodes, and, by means of a shout, made fast in a moment the ends of the earth, him with the pleasing tongue, the ancient ṛṣis, the bards, uttering spells, placed in the front".

Raveṇa 'by means of a shout' = by means of the utterance of a spell (of truth). *Sahasā* = all at once, in a moment; a sense which it has in later Sanskrit literature also. The 'ancient ṛṣis, the bards' are the Aṅgirasas. *Dīdhyānāḥ* signifies 'uttering spells', in the same was as *dīdhiti* signifies 'hymn, spell'; compare also the analogous use of the root *man* referred to

above. *Puro*¹ *dadhire*=placed in front; made leader in the utterance of spells. Compare in this connection 1, 190, 1; *anarvāṇam* *vṛṣabham* *mandrajihvam* *br̥haspatim* *vardhayā* *navyam* *arka*^h *gāthānyaḥ* *suruco* *yasya* *devā* *āśṛṇvanti* *nava-mānasya* *mārtāḥ* "magnify with hymns the blameless, excellent, praiseworthy Br̥haspati with pleasing tongue, whose roar when he is the leader in singing, effulgent, is heard by gods and mortals". The epithet *gāthānī* is applied to Indra in 8, 92, 2: *puruhūtam* *puruṣtutam* *gāthānāyam* *sanaśrutam*, and doubtless for the same reason. As already mentioned above, *aṅgirastama* or 'chief Aṅgiras' is one of the epithets which is applied by the poets to Br̥haspati and to Indra also.

(35) 4, 50, 4-5: *br̥haspatiḥ* *prathamam* *jāyamāno*
maho *jyotiṣaḥ* *parame* *vyōman*
saptāsyas *tuvi jāto* *raveṇa*
vi *saptaraśmir* *adhamat* *tamāmsi*||
sa *suṣṭubhā* *sa* *ṛkvaṭā* *gaṇeṇa*
valam *ruroja* *phaligam* *raveṇa*
br̥haspatir *usriyā* *havyasūdaḥ*
kanikradad *vāvaśatir* *ud ājat*||

"Being born first in the high st of the great light, Br̥haspati who has seven mouths and seven reins, and is born many times, blew away the dark (cave) by means of a shout.

"With the singing troop, he, with a loud shout, rent the crystal enclosure of Vala; Br̥haspati, roaring, drove out the lowing cows that sweeten the sacrificial offering".

rava, in both verses, refers to the utterance of the (spell of) truth. The 'singing troop' in v. 5a are the Aṅgirasas chanting the spell of truth.

(36) 1, 62, 2-7: *prā* *vo* *mahe* *mahi* *namo* *bharadhavam*
āṅgūṣyam *śavasānāya* *sāma*
yenā *naḥ* *pūrve* *pitarah* *pada jñā*
arcanto *aṅgirasō* *gā* *āvindan*||

īndrasyāṅgirasām ceṣṭau
vidat saramā tanayāya dhāsim|
br̥haspatir bhinad adriṃ vidad gāḥ
sām usriyābhir vāavaśanta naraḥ||

sa suṣṭubhā sa stubhā sapta vipraiḥ
svareṇādriṃ svaryo navagvaiḥ|
saranyubhiḥ phaligam indra śakra
valam ravena darayo daśagvaiḥ||

gr̥ṇāno āngirobhir dasma vi var
uśasā sūryeṇa gobhir andhaḥ|
vi bhūmyā aprathaya indra sānu
divo raja uparam astabhāyaḥ||

tad u prayakṣatamam asya karma
dasmasya cārutamam asti dāmsaḥ|
upahvare yad uparā apinvan
madhvarṇaso nadyaś catasraḥ||

dvitā vi vavre sanaja sanile
ayāsyah stavamānebhīr arkaīḥ|
bhago na mene parame vyomann
adhārayad rodasī sudāmsāḥ||

“Offer great homage, sāman fit to be sung, to the great, mighty (Indra), with whom our ancient fathers, the Aṅgirasas, knowing words and singing, won the cows.

“In the search of Indra and the Aṅgirasas, Saramā found food for the progeny. Br̥haspati rent the mountain and found the cows; the men roared with the cows.

“By means of the loud roar, he (sc. Indra), with the seven bards, the Navagvas, (found) the cows by means of a shout. O mighty Indra, with the Saranyus and Daśagvas, thou didst, by means of a shout, rend the cave of quartz.

"Singing with the Aṅgirasas, O thou with magic power, thou didst open the dark (cave, and set free) the Dawn, the sun, and the cows. Thou, O Indra, didst extend the plain of the earth, and make fast the upper world of the sky.

"That is his most praiseworthy deed, that the most beautiful miracle, of the possessor of magic power, namely, that he caused the four upper rivers which were flowing with honey, to swell in their (prison) fortress.

"Ayāśya, with songs of praise, did again discover the two ancient ones that have the same nest. He, the possessor of magic power, supported the earth and the sky in the highest heaven, in the same way as a rich person supports his two wives".

Hymn 1, 62 is addressed to Indra, and the above verses describe his rending of the mountain, and the freeing of the cows, etc., in company with the Aṅgirasas, Saramā, and Bṛhaspati.

padajñāḥ, in verse 2, is explained as 'knowers of the path' by Sāyaṇa, GELDNER, and others, an explanation which also fits the context here. Similarly, Sāyaṇa explains *iṣṭi*, in verse 3, as *preṣanā*, and relates a story according to which, Indra sent the divine dog Saramā to find out the place where the cows were hidden, promising her that, in return, he would give the milk of the cows to her progeny. Sāyaṇa and Geldner therefore interpret the word *tanayāya* in v. 3b as referring to the progeny of Saramā. It seems to me better however to understand the word as referring to the progeny of Manu, that is, to the tribes of men; compare 1, 72, 8 explained above. Compare also 1, 96, 4: *sa mātariśvā puruvārapuṣṭir vidad gātum tanayāya svarvit* where *tanayāya* refers (as pointed out by Geldner in his note in (RV. Ueber.) to *manūnām prajāḥ* (i.e., men) mentioned in the preceding verse but one, *sa pūrvayā nividā kavyatāyor imāḥ prajā ajanayan manūnām*.

naraḥ, in pāda d, refers to the Aṅgirasas; regarding the expression *saṃ usriyābhir vāvaśanta naraḥ*, see the explanation of 4, 3, 11 given above.

In verse 4, GELDNER supplies, on the analogy of 4, 50, 5, the word *gaṇena* after the word *suṣṭubhā*. This *suṣṭup gaṇa*, according to him, consists of (1) the seven bards, (2) the Navagvas (3) Saranyus, and (4) the Daśagvas; and the synonyms *stubhā*, *svareṇa* and *raveṇa* in pādas abd, as also the synonyms *adrim*, *phaligam* and *valam* are construed by him, respectively with one each of the instrumental plurals. He thus translates the verse as: "Du sprengtest mit der schmetternden (Schar), du unter schmetterndem Ton mit den sieben Redegewaltigen, laut mit lauter Stimme (im Bunde) mit den Navagva's den Fels, mit den Saranyu's den Phaliga, O mächtiger Indra, untea Geschrei den Vala (im Bunde) mit den Dasagva's". All this appears unconvincing, especially, since *phaligā* is not a proper name as GELDNER thinks, but signifies 'sphatika, rock crystal or quartz' (see *Indian Ant.*, LVI, p. 136 ff.)

In verse 5, *grṇānaḥ* is regarded (by Sāyaṇa, GELDNER and others) as having a passive sense, and equivalent to *stūyamāna*. Now it is quite true that the expression *aṅgirobhir grṇānaḥ* does signify in many verses, 'being praised by the Aṅgirasas; but *grṇānaḥ*, in form, is an active participle, and the active meaning, 'praising with the Aṅgirasas', it must be noted, suits the context here.

upahvara, in verse 6, signifies 'durga, fatness, (prison) fortress', and *upahvarē apinvat* 'caused to swell in the fortress' seems to be equivalent to 'caused to overflow the bounds of the fortress; released from prison'.

In verse 7, *stavamānebhīḥ* seems to be used for *stavamānaḥ*, and the instrumental plural seems to be due to the proximity of the word *arkaiḥ*. Or, should we supply a word like *naraiḥ* (this is what Sāyaṇa does), or *aṅgirobhīḥ*, etc., after it, and translate, "By means of chants, Ayāsyā, with the praising Aṅgirasas, discovered again the two ancient ones that have the same nest"? The 'two ancient ones' are *rodasī*, earth and sky, mentioned in pāda d; and Ayāsyā, is probably identical with *Bṛhaspati* (see GELDNER'S note in *RV. Ueber.*).

The comparison in pāda c is not very clear: the meaning of pādas cd seems to be, 'He maintained earth and sky in the

highest heaven, as a rich man maintains his two wives in the highest state of comfort'.

Vāvaśanta (v. 3d), *stubbhā*, *svareṇa* and *raveṇa* (v. 4), *grṇānaḥ* (v. 5a), and *stavamānebhīr arkaiḥ* (v. 7) all refer to the utterance of spells of truth.

It will be noted that these verses mention, in connection with the Vala myth, not only the rending of the mountain and the freeing of the cows, Dawn, sun and rivers, but also the making fast of the earth and the sky.

(37) 4, 16, 6: ¹viśvāni ¹śakro ¹naryāṇi ¹vidvān
¹apo ¹rireca ¹sakhibhir ¹nikāmaiḥ|
¹aśmānaṃ ¹cid ¹ye ¹bibhidur ¹vacobbir
¹vrajaṃ ¹gomantam ¹uśijo ¹vī ¹vavruḥ||

"The mighty (Indra) who knows all (acts) of men emptied the Waters with his loving companions, the Uśijs, who split even the rock by means of their spells and opened the stalls containing cows".

Concerning the epithet *naryāṇi vidvān*, compare 7, 21, 4: ¹bhīmo ¹viveśāyudhebhīr ¹eśāṃ ¹apāṃsi ¹viśvā ¹naryāṇi ¹vidvān|
¹indraḥ ¹puro ¹jarhṛṣāṇo ¹vī ¹dūdhod ¹vī ¹vajrahasto ¹mahinā ¹jaghāna
 "The terrible one, who knows all the acts of these (men), accomplished them with his weapons. Indra hurls away the fortresses (of the enemies) with joy; with Vajra in his hand, he struck with might".

The 'loving companions' are the Aṅgirasas, and their 'spells', spells of truth.

(38) 6, 65, 5: ¹idā ¹hi ¹ta ¹uṣo ¹adrisāno
¹gotrā ¹gavām ¹aṅgirasas ¹grṇanti|
¹vy ¹arkeṇa ¹bibhidur ¹brahmaṇā ¹ca
¹satyā ¹nṛṇām ¹abhavad ¹devahūtiḥ||

"Here, O Uṣas resting on the back of the mountain, the Aṅgirasas sung (towards) the mountains containing the cows; they have, by means of a spell, a magic formula, split them open. The men's invocation of the gods has borne fruit".

Regarding *gotrā gr̥ṇānti*, compare the expression *bṛhaspatir abhikanikradad gāḥ* in 10, 67, 3 explained above. *gr̥ṇānti*, *arkeṇa brahmaṇā* all refer to the spells of truth employed by the Aṅgirasas.

Hymn 6, 65 is addressed to Uṣas, and the poet's mention of her in this verse with the Aṅgirasas indicates that she too was associated with them in the rending of the mountain-fort and the freeing of the cows, etc. See in this connection the observations under 7, 75, 7 explained below.

(39) 32, 3-4: *sa mātārā sūryeṇā kavīnām*
avāsayaḍ rujaḍ adriṃ gr̥ṇānaḥ
svādhibhir ṛkvabhir vāvaśāna
ud usriyāṇām asṛjan nidānam||
sa vahnibhir ṛkvabhir goṣu śaśvan
mitajñubhiḥ purukṛtvā jigāya
puraḥ purohā sakhibhiḥ sakhīyan
dr̥ḷhā ruroja kavibhiḥ kaviḥ san||

"For the sake of the poets, he (sc. Indra), chanting, made the sun shine on the two parents (i.e., earth and sky) (after) he rent the mountain. With the pure-minded singing ones, he, roaring, unloosed the bonds of the cows.

"He, the doer of many deeds, conquered with the priests who were singing towards the cows and often bent their knees. Desiring friendship, with the friends, a poet, with the poets, and destroyer of forts, he shattered the solid forts."

I follow Sāyaṇa in interpreting *kavīnām*, in verse 2a, as *kavīnām arthāya*. GRASSMANN construes it with *mātārā* and translates as 'the parents of the wise god', while Ludwig translates 'he, among the wise ones, that is, the Aṅgiras among the wise ones.'

The epithets *kavīnām*, *svādhibhir ṛkvabhiḥ* in verse 2, and *vahnibhir ṛkvabhiḥ*, *sakhibhiḥ* and *kavibhiḥ* in v. 3 all refer to the Aṅgirasas and their utterance of spells of truth, while the words *gr̥ṇānaḥ*, *vāvaśānaḥ* in v. 2, and *kaviḥ* in v. 3 refer to Indra's utterance of such spells.

(40) 10, 112, 8-9: prā¹ ta¹ indra p¹ ūrvyā¹ni prā¹ nūnā¹m
 vīryā¹ voca¹m prathamā¹ kṛtā¹ni|
 satīnā¹manyur aśrathāyo¹ adri¹m
 suvedanā¹m akṛ¹ṇor brahma¹ṇe gā¹m||
 nī¹ śu¹ sīda gaṇa¹pate gaṇe¹ṣu
 tvam ā¹hur vipra¹tama¹m kavī¹nām|
 nā¹ r̥te¹ tvat kriya¹te ki¹m ca¹nāre
 mahā¹m arka¹m magha¹van citrā¹m arca¹||

“I have praised, O Indra, thy ancient valiant deeds and those of recent times, and the deeds performed formerly. Having (i.e., employing) spells of truth, thou didst shatter the mountain and madest the cow easily attainable to the priest.

“Sit with the troop, O master of the troop; they call thee the most inspired among the poets. Without thee, nothing is done (even) at a distance. Sing, O bountiful giver, the great beautiful song”.

In verse 8, *vīryā nūnām* means ‘the valiant deeds performed by thee in recent times’. *satīnāmanyur* = *satya-mantraḥ*, employer of spells of truth. In pāda d, *brahmaṇe* and *gām* are both used with the force of the plural (*jātāv ekavacanam*) and refer respectively to the Ṇgirases and the cows imprisoned in the mountain.

In verse 9, the ‘troop’ is the troop of the Ṇgirases, and *vipratamaṁ kavīnām* is synonymous with *āṅgirasām āṅgrastamam*. In d, *arka* refers to the spell of truth (cp. *satīnāmanyur* of the preceding verse) employed by Indra.

(41) 10, 47, 4: sanā¹dvāja¹m vipra¹vīra¹m taru¹tra¹m
 dha¹na¹spr̥ta¹m śūśu¹vāṅsa¹m su¹dakṣa¹m|
 da¹syu¹ha¹na¹m pūr¹bhi¹da¹m indra¹ sa¹tyam
 as¹ma¹bhya¹m citrā¹m vṛ¹ṣa¹ṇa¹m rayi¹m dā¹ḥ||

“(We know thee as) the winner of booty, sung by priests, conqueror, winner of prizes, strong, highly skilled, destroyer of demons, shatterer of forts, performer of acts of truth, O Indra, Confer on us wealth that is beautiful and excellent”.

Pāda d is the refrain that occurs at the end of all the verses of this hymn. Sāyaṇa and LUDWIG construe the epithets in abc (*sanādvājam* etc.) with *rayim* in d, and make one sentence of the verse. It seems to me however that it is hardly likely that *dasyuḥanam* and *pūrbhidam* can be epithets of *rayim*; and I therefore supply here the words *vidmā hi tvā* from v. 1 of this hymn, in the same way as Sāyaṇa has done in the case of v. 2. *satyam*=speaker of (spells of) truth, or performer of (acts of) truth; compare Sāyaṇa's explanation *satyaṃ satya-karmāṇam*. The proximity of the word *dasyuḥanam* and *pūrbhidam* shows that the reference is to the spells of truth employed by Indra for shattering the forts of Vala, Śambara and other demons, and for destroying them.

((42) 3, 39, 4-5: *nakir eṣāṃ ninditā mārtyeṣu*
ye asmākaṃ pitāro goṣu yodhāḥ|
indra eṣāṃ dṛmhitā māhināvān
ud gotrāṇi saṣṛje daṃsanāvān||
sakhā ha yātra sakhibhir nāvagvair
abhiḥjñvā satvabhir gā anugman|
satyaṃ tad indro daśabhir daśagvaiḥ
sūryaṃ viveda tamasi kṣiyāntam||

"None among the mortals blames our fathers who became fighters for the sake of the cows. For their sake, the mighty Indra, possessor of magic power, freed (the cows imprisoned in) the solid mountains.

"When the friend with the friends, Navagvas, as soldiers, went on knees after the cows, Indra found—that was an act of truth—with the ten Daśagvas the sun staying in the dark (cave)."

In v. 5c, *satyaṃ tat* is clearly parenthetical and is so regarded by GRASSMANN, LUDWIG and GELDNER who translate it as 'this is true'. Since we know that Indra's release of the cows and of the sun was due to the spells of truth pronounced by him, it seems preferable to translate the expression here as

'that was an act of truth', that is, 'that was the result of thy act of truth'. Compare 4, 22, 6 explained below.

(43) 4, 22, 6: tā tū te satyā tuvinṛmṇa viśvā
 prā dhenāvaḥ sisrate vṛṣṇa udhnāḥ|
 adhā ha tvad vṛṣamano bhiyānāḥ
 prā sindhavo jāvasā cakramanta||

"All these are (thy) acts of truth, O thou most valiant; the milch-cows come forth from the udder of the bull. Being then afraid of thee, O thou with excellent spells, the rivers sped away quickly".

'From the udder of the bull' = 'from within the imprisoning mountain', *manas*, in *vṛṣamānas*, signifies 'spell (of truth)'.

(44) 4, 28, 5: evā satyaṁ maghavānā yuvaṁ tad
 indraś ca somorvaṁ aśvyam goḥ|
 ādardṛtam apihitāny āsnā
 riricathuḥ ksās cit tātrdānā||

"Thus was that act of truth, O ye two bountiful givers, when you, O Soma, and Indra shattered the caves of the horses and cows that had been closed with a stone, and emptied them, breaking up the earths"

(To be continued)

THE CONCEPT OF KEYNOTE IN THE TAITTIRIYA PRĀTISĀKHYA

BY

C. R. SANKARAN,
Poona.

(Continued from page 89 Vol. XIV)

The seven notes that form a *saptaka*, or 'cluster of seven' in Sāman music go by the following names *krushta*, *prathama*, *Dvitiya*, *ṛtiya*, *caturtha*, *mandra* and *atisvārya*.

कुष्ठप्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थमन्द्रानिस्वार्याः

(Taittiriya Prātiśākhya xxiii, 12.)

[For the ordinary names of the seven notes of the Indian scale, or *svaras*, see Jones, "On the Musical Modes of the Hindu," Asiatic Researches., Vol. iii, p. 68, Weber's Indischen Studien, Das Chandassūtram des Pingala Vol. viii, 259.]

सप्तस्वराये यमास्ते

(Rk Prātiśākhya XIII, 44) Benares Sanskrit Series).

Uvaṭa's comment on it is as follows:—

ये सप्तस्वराः षड्जऋषभ-गांधारादयो गांधर्ववेदे समाम्नाताः । तथा सामसु । कुष्ठप्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थ मन्द्रानिस्वार्याः इति ते यमा नाम वेदितव्याः ॥

[Cf. Muller's Rk Prātiśākhya, p. cclxxii. Note that according to Uvaṭa, the reading is *krushta*, and not *krṣṭa* which reading we find in the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya, xxiii, 14.

द्वितीयप्रथमकृष्टास्त्रय आह्वारकस्वराः

(Whitney's edition) Muller, l.c., p. cclxxiii, gives another reading *kuṣṭa* also.]

There can be no two opinion on the fact that the Sāman scale was a downward series which is the characteristic of all primitive music (cf. Music through the Ages by Marion Bauer and Ethel R. Peyser, chapter II, Music of Primitive Man, p. 9.)

कृष्टादयः उत्तरोत्तरं नीचाभवन्ति

[Quoted in Lakshmana Srauti's edition of Sāmaveda Saṃhitā Veyagāna Sāmasvaranirṇayaḥ page 1. A manuscript of Sāmatantra is available in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library Madras. Vide also Burnell's Catalogue of a collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts Part I, Vedic Manuscripts, page 40.]

कुष्टस्य मूर्धनिस्थानं ललाटे प्रथमस्य तु ।
 भ्रुवोर्मध्ये द्वितीयस्य तृतीयस्य च कर्णयोः ॥
 कण्ठस्थानं चतुर्थस्य मन्द्रस्योरसि तूच्यते ।
 अतिस्वारस्य नीचस्य ह्रदिस्थानं विधीयते ॥

(Nārada Śikṣā I, 7, verses 1 and 2.)

[The same stanzas occur in a corrupt form in Bharata-bhāṣya also, page 16.]

Now the question is to what *svaras* of the secular scale do *krusta*, etc., correspond. We find the following verses in the Nārada Śikṣā which attempt to answer this question.

यः सामगानां प्रथमः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः ।
 यो द्वितीयः स गान्धारः तृतीयस्तृषभः स्मृतः ॥
 चतुर्थषड्ज इत्याहुः पञ्चगो धैवतो भवेत् ।
 षष्ठोनिषादे विज्ञेयः सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः ॥

(Vide Nārada Śikṣā I, 5, verses 1 and 2.)

From the above quoted verses, it is clear that कुष्ट, प्रथम, द्वितीय, तृतीय, चतुर्थ, मन्द्र and अतिस्वार्य correspond respectively to प, म, ग, रि, स, ध, नि in the language of modern notations (Does the order of *svaras* पमगरि साधनि indicate that there was वक्रगति in the Sāman mode of singing?).

In this connection it has to be remembered that the *gāyatri-gāna* which is the most important in the sāma-chant begins with the Madhyama note ["All the sāmans of the morning service were to be sung in the gāyatra-melody, and this may be taken to be known. The Vedic student begins with this melody, composed in the Sāvitrī metre (Tat Savitur Vareniam etc), and it is imparted in the Devatādhyāya Brāhmaṇa, while it is found as appendix to the edition of the grāma-geyagāna (among the Jaiminīyas after the Āraṇyagāna) "Vide W. Caland. De Wording Van den Sāma Veda Verslagen en Mededeelingen Der Koninklijke Akademie Van Wetenschappen. Afdeeling Letter kunde Vier de Reeks

Negende Deel. Amsterdam Johannes Müller (1909) page 5. See the English translation of this article by Prof. K. Nilakantha Sāstri in J. O. R. M. Vol. IX Pt. iv, page 298. Vide also p. 5 of Indische Forschungen 2 Heft Die jaiminiya Saṃhitā miteiner Einleitung über die Sāma Veda literatur Von Dr. W. Caland (1907).] Commenting on the following verse of the Bharata Nāṭya Sāstra (Kāvyamāla edition chapter 30, verse 2, p. 329.)

द्विकत्रिकचतुष्कास्तु ज्ञेयावंशगता स्वराः ।

कम्पमानार्धमुक्ताश्च व्यक्तमुक्तास्तथैव च ॥

Abhinavagupta says in his Abhinava Bharati

यद्यपि न सूषट्शुभक्रमोऽयं उक्तः तथापि षड्जस्य चतुः श्रुतित्वा-
न्मध्यमत्वं न प्रत्यभिज्ञातम् ॥

(Abhinava Bhārati) Paper Manuscript in Devanāgarī Script R 2774 I. 33-13 11×9½ Volume 4, page 60. The whole passage is corrupt) What precedes this is the following :—

तत्र (वंशे) गान्धारादितया मध्यमस्वरो अन्त्यो भवति ।

तदपेक्षया (मध्यमे प्रथमेकृते) गान्धारो द्वितीयः) द्वितीयन्तत एव च
(द्वितीयस्वर एव स) सामस्त (स्थ) गान्धारः मध्यमो हि तत्र प्रथमः ।
आहच—यः सामगानात् (नां) प्रथमः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः—इति¹

Evidently सूषट्शुभक्रम is a corruption and Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi suggests to me the following reading. The readings of the manuscript in his possession vary from the readings of the manuscript in the Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

यद्यपि च न कुट्टादिषु श्रुतिक्रमो युक्तः तथापि षड्जस्य चतुः श्रुतित्वात्
मध्यमत्वेन प्रत्यभिज्ञानम्

The meaning now is clear. If any one asks why Abhinavagupta speaks of the मध्यमग्राम only and not of षड्जग्राम, the answer is :—

“It is only उपलक्षण. What applies to मध्यमग्राम can equally apply to षड्जग्राम for षड्ज and मध्यम have four śrutis for each (although the ancient sāman music knew no श्रुतिविभाग). By saying मध्यम, षड्ज can also be implied.” (In this connection it is

1. The readings put here within brackets are those suggested by Dr. V. Raghavan and Mr. P. S. Sundaram Aiyar of Tanjore.

good to remember that गान्धारग्राम is sung in प्रातःसवन and in माध्याह्न and in सायंसवन, षड्जग्राम is sung, while मध्यमग्राम is sung in all the three सवनस).]

Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Iyer formerly thought¹ that there is a slip or misprint in the last of the two stanzas beginning with यः सामगानांप्रथमः etc. He would have them read as follows:

चतुर्थषड्ज इत्याहुः निषादः पञ्चमो भवेत् षष्ठस्तु धैवतो ज्ञेय

सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः ।

(Introduction to Somanāth's Rāgavibodha page 30. In fact, in the Bharatabhāṣya itself we read निषादःपञ्चमः स्मृतः page 22) He takes also the line यः सामगानां प्रथमः सवेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः to mean यः सामगानां कुष्ठो नाम प्रथमः etc., and not यः सामगानां प्रथमाख्यः

स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः; the latter interpretation seems to me obviously a more natural and straightforward one (See Mr. Sankaranarayanan's article in the cultural supplement of Dharmarāja 2nd June 1934. Also Madras Music Academy Journal, Vol. IV p. 150 ff.)

Perhaps Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Iyer has been led to this view by what Mr. H. A. Popley says on page 30 of the Music of India. But Mr. Popley does not furnish us definite data for his equation of *krūṣṭa*, etc., with *Madhyama*, etc.

On the other hand, my interpretation seems to gain additional strength by the following bit in नारदीयशिक्षाविवरण of भट्टश्रीभास्कर—कुष्ठः उच्चः, मध्यमः प्रथमः स्वरः

(Vide Uṣā edition of Nārada Śikṣā page 397).

[See also the following:—

वैदिकेतु पञ्चमनिषादानां कचिदेव भवेत् Nārada Śikṣā. Commentary. Benares Sanskrit Series, page 410.]

In fact, there seems to be no possibility of shaking the conclusion I have reached in view of the following stanzas of the Nārada Śikṣā too

अङ्गुष्ठस्योत्तमे कुष्ठोऽङ्गुष्ठे प्रथमः स्वरः ।

प्रादेशिन्यां तु गान्धारः ऋषभस्तदनन्तरम् ॥

1. Since writing this paper I have come to know that he has changed this view.

अनामिकायां षडजस्तु कनिष्ठिकायांच धैवतः ।
तस्याधस्ताच्चयोऽन्यस्य निषादं तत्रविन्यसेत् ॥

Nārada Śikṣā. I, 7, verses 3 and 4.

In the above verses, the practice of *Kauthuna-Sāma Vedin* in the matter of the movements of the fingers to indicate the notes of the Sāman, is described. To mark the notes in the way mentioned in this verse, the fingers must be bent slightly towards the thumb, which is made to touch the part indicated as each note is uttered.

A string of similar verses occurring in Śabāpati's Dhāraṇa-lakṣaṇa (quoted by Burnell in his introduction to the *jaiminīya* text of *Ārṣeyabrāhmaṇa*, page XV) if rightly understood only goes to support my view. The verses in question describe the practice of *Jaiminīya Sāma Vedin* in the matter of the movements of the fingers to indicate the notes of the Saman. The verses read:—

क्रुष्टोऽध्यङ्गुष्ठतर्जन्योरग्रसंश्लेषमेव च ।
अङ्गुष्ठस्य शिरः स्थानः प्रथमत्वरः उच्यते ॥
तर्जनीमूलसंस्पर्शः द्वितीयस्वर उच्यते ।
तृतीयो मध्यमामूलाश्चतुर्थस्याधोङ्गुलेः¹
मन्द्रं कनिष्ठिकामूलं स्वारमाग्राद् विमर्शनम्² ।
एवं दक्षिण हस्ते स्युर्नासिकाग्रपुरः स्थिते ।
गोकर्णसदृशे पाणौ स्वराः सप्तप्रदर्शिताः ।

Now to fix correctly the svaras in सामगान with reference to श्रुतिस, we have to take into consideration the following verses from the Nārada Śikṣā:—

(To be continued)

1. The metre in the last pāda is defective. The correct reading would be चतुर्थः स्यादधोऽङ्गुलेः ।

2. Evidently there is corruption here. My friend Dr. V. Raghavan reconstructs the line thus:—

मन्द्रं कनिष्ठिकामूलोऽतिस्वार्येऽग्रेविमर्शनम् ॥

॥ श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमा* ॥

BY

R. S. VENKATARAMA SASTRI, M.A.,
(The Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore)

“तापिञ्छस्तन्नकविषे तनुभृतां दारिद्र्यमुद्राद्विषे
संसाराख्यतमोमुषे पुररिपोर्वामाङ्गसीमाजुषे ।
कम्पातीरमुपेयुषे कवयतां जिह्वाकुटीं जग्मुषे
विश्वत्राणपुषे नमोऽस्तु सततं तस्मै परज्योतिषे” ॥
ओं काव्यकलने समाधिः परं कवेर्व्याप्रियते ।
सुसमाहितं हि स्वान्तमर्थान्पश्यति । तदुक्तमभियुक्तैः—
सारस्वतं किमपि तत्सुमहारहस्यं
यद्गोचरे च विदुषां निपुणैकसेव्यम् ।
तत्सिद्धये परमयं परमोभ्युपायः
यच्चेतसो विदितवेद्यविधेस्समाधिः ॥

समाधिश्च कवितां कलयति; काव्यशक्तिमुत्पादयति, सन्धुक्षयति, उद्भासयति
च, येन प्रतिभा उल्लास्यतेतराम् । नह्यप्रतिभः कश्चित् कविर्भवति । या च
श्रोत्रपेयं शब्दग्रामम्, रमणीयमर्थसार्थम्, उज्ज्वलमलङ्कारपथम्, ऊर्जस्वलमुक्ति-
तन्त्रम्, अपरमपि सरसमेवंविधमधिहृदयं स्वैरं प्रतिभासयति, सैव प्रतिभा, यया
मूकोऽपि महाकविसरण्यां जाज्वलीति ॥

रससर्वस्वभूते हि सौन्दर्ये, त्रिलोकसौन्दर्ये, श्रीमूकमनस्समाहितम् ;
‘त्रिलोकसौन्दर्यमित्रोदितम्’ जगदम्बावपुः । ननु सौन्दर्यं नाम अखण्डम्, यत्किञ्चि-
द्भूपरहितम्, एवंपददूरम् ; कथमिदं समाधिविषयतया गृह्येत ? कीर्तयति च कविः,
‘दूरं वाचाम्’, ‘एवंपददूरमेकमवलम्बे’, इत्येवमादि । तच्च बाङ्मनसातीतं तत्त्वं कथं

* Substance of a Sanskrit lecture delivered under the auspices
of the Madras Samskrta Academy on the Śrī Mūka Kavi Day,
(Mahāśivarātrī) 24th February, 1941.

वा वर्णेत, वर्णितं वा चले मनसि कथं लगेत ? सत्यम् ; अतएव काविरत्र सुलभतया सौन्दर्याभिसम्पत्त्यर्थं वपुर्विशेषं तस्य सर्वेन्द्रियमोहनं कलयतितराम्, येन च निर्दुष्टं काव्यं सैन्दर्यलीलाकरतया अनुभूयतेतमाम् रसिकवृन्दैः ॥

आर्याशतके अखण्डमिदमाम्नायरहस्यं त्रिलोकसौन्दर्यं वपुर्विशेषकलना-
पुरस्सरं योगिध्येयमधिकाश्चि कामपीठगतं परशिववामाङ्कपीठिकासीनमधिकाश्चित-
मणिकाञ्चनकाश्चि अधिहृदयं तन्यते—

कारणपरचिद्रूपा

काञ्चीपुरसीम्नि कामपीठगता ।

काचन विहरति करुणा

काश्मीरस्तवककोमलाङ्गलता ॥

अधिकाश्चि वर्धमानां

अतुलां करवाणि पारणामक्ष्णोः ।

आनन्दपाकभेदां

अरुणिमपरिणामगर्वपल्लविताम् ॥

(अक्ष्णोरिति सर्वेन्द्रियाणामुपलक्षणम्)

अङ्कितशङ्करदेहां

अङ्कुरितोरोजकङ्कणाश्लेषैः ।

अधिकाश्चि नित्यतरुणीं

अद्राक्षं काश्चिददभुतां बालाम् ॥

‘वपुर्विशेषेष्वतिगौरवाः क्रियाः’ ; पश्यतात्र वपुर्विशेषकलनाचातुरीम् ;

कुटिलकचं कठिनकुचं

कुन्दस्मितकान्ति कुङ्कुमच्छायम् ।

कुरुते विद्वतिं काञ्च्यां

कुलपर्वतसार्वभौमसर्वस्वम् ॥

तदेवं निर्वेदनिष्ठे सन्तापचिन्तातते भवकान्तारे धावं धावं नैराश्या-
दन्ततः पतनशीलानि इन्द्रियाणि अन्तर्मुखं समावर्ज्य, सौन्दर्यसारघटिते
श्रीकामाक्षीनामधेये तत्त्वे निष्ठां लम्बयति महाकविः । सर्वमेतत् योगमार्ग-
मार्मिकाणाम्, सौन्दर्यसाररसिकानां महाकवीनाम्, तत्र माद्यतां धीमतां सहृदयानां
च सुगममेवेति विस्तरेणालम् ॥

सौन्दर्यैकतानो हि श्रीमूककविः पुंस्कोकिल इव वसन्ते श्रुतिमधुरं वाचालीभवति । भक्तिविषयं च सौन्दर्यं वाङ्मयत्वेनापि ध्यायं ध्यायं मधुरं नदति । श्रीविद्या हि जगदम्बा । तत्प्रयुक्ता तु श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमा अनितरसाधारणी काव्यसुषमामावहति । स्वानुभूतिमपि कविरत्र प्रकटयति—

धन्या धन्या गतिरिह गिरां देवि कामाक्षि ! का मे

निन्धां भिन्धात् सपदि जडत ! कल्मषादुन्मिषन्तीम् ।

साध्वी माध्वीरसमधुरताभञ्जिनी मञ्जुरीति-

वाणीवेणी श्रुति वृणुतात्स्वर्धुनीस्पर्धिनी माम् ॥

धन्या = धनितुं योग्या, अर्जयितुमर्हेति यावत्, धन्या = संस्कृता, अतएव निर्दुष्टा का गतिः, इह मे गिरां, हे कामाक्षि ! जडतां भिन्धात् ? आक्षेपे 'किम्' । न कापि मम वाग्जडताभञ्जनायालमित्येतत् । अतः वाणीवेणी सुरधुनीनीकाशा शिवा वाग्वैखरी सकलकल्मषापहन्त्री श्रुति मां वृणुतात् । गुरुकुलक्लेशादिनाह्यधिगतो वाग्विलासः महतीं मे जडतां व्यपोहितुं नैवालम्, अतः श्रीविद्या जगदम्बा मां कटाक्षयतु ; यस्याश्च शीतलकटाक्षपातः

यस्मिन्नम्ब ! भवत्कटाक्षरजनी मन्देऽपि मन्दस्मित-

ज्योत्स्नासंस्नपिता भवत्यभिमुखी तं प्रत्यहो देहिनम् ।

द्राक्षामाक्षिकमाधुरीमदभरव्रीडाकरी वैखरी

कामाक्षि ! स्वयमातनोत्यभिसृतिं वामेक्षणेव क्षणात् ॥

अम्ब ! मन्दस्मितज्योत्स्नासंस्नपिताः शीतलास्ते कटाक्षाः यस्मिन् पतन्ति, वराको वा भवतु स मादृशः, तं कृतकृत्यं क्षणात् सुकविताकामिनी वल्गुवाग्वा-मेक्षणेव कान्तं सरसोल्लासैः, अभिसरति अभिसारयति वा । कलयन्वत्र महा-कविभक्तिसुषमाम् आर्याः ! इतरस्तु भक्तः, अम्बिकाया अपदानानि अणिमादि-सिद्धीश्च औपदेशिक इव आवेशिक इव च स्तौति, काकवन्ध्यः कदलीवन्ध्यो वा भवत्यन्ततः । अयं पुनः सरसमधुरं कुरुते भक्तिम्, येन अम्बा भावुकानां मनस्यञ्जसा निष्ठां लभते । यथा कुमारसम्भवेन, यथा वा श्रीमूकपञ्चशल्या भावुकमनः अम्बिकोन्मुखं भवति, न तथा स्तोत्रान्तरैः उपासनान्तरेण वेति अहो महाकविभक्तिसुषमा ! ॥

कलयन्तु पथरत्नमिदं हृदि भावुकाः, तत्र च अनितरसाधारणीं कविभक्तिधोरणीम् :—

चन्द्रापीडां चतुरवदनां चञ्चलापाङ्गलीलां
 कुन्दस्मेरां कुचभरनतां कुन्तलोद्भूतभृङ्गाम् ।
 मारारातेर्भदनशिखिनं मांसलं दीपयन्तीं
 कामाक्षीं तां कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्लीमुपासे ॥

चन्द्रापीडामित्यारभ्य कुन्तलोद्भूतभृङ्गामित्यन्तेन आर्यायाः अनाधेयातिशयं
 सौन्दर्यम्, मारारातेः मदनशिखिनं मांसलं दीपयन्तीमित्यनेन तस्याः भावैकरसं
 पारमेशं च मनः व्यञ्जयित्वा, तद्द्वारीकृत्य च मारारातेरपि मांसलो मदनशिखीति-
 लोकोत्तरशृङ्गारतः हासध्वनिं च अनुप्राससुश्लिष्टं श्रोत्रपेयं हृदयंगमं च
 तनोत्ययं कविः । अतएव च कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्लीयाः ध्यानमप्यत्रान्यत्र च,

जम्भारातिप्रभृतिमुकुटीः पादयोः पीठयन्ती
 गुम्फान्वाचां कविजनकृतान्स्वैरमारामयन्ती ।
 शम्पालक्ष्मीं मणिगणरुचां पाटलैः प्रापयन्ती
 कम्पातीरे कविपरिषदां जृम्भते भाग्यसीमा ॥

एवं तत्र तत्र कविभक्तिसुषमैव 'कविकुलगिरां कल्पवल्ली', 'कविपरिषदां
 भाग्यसीमा', 'सीमाशून्यकवित्ववर्षजननी' 'कामधेनुः कवीनाम्', इत्येवमादि
 पदनिकुरुम्बं स्वैरमङ्कुरयति ।

कलयन्त्वार्याः कविभक्तिमन्यत्र—

कान्तैः केशरुचां चयैर्भ्रमरितं मन्दस्मितैः पुष्पितं
 कान्त्या पल्लवितं पदाम्बुरुहयोर्नेत्रत्विषा पत्रितम् ।
 कम्पातीरवनान्तरं विदधतो कल्याणजन्मस्थली
 काञ्चीमध्यमहामणिर्विजयते काचित्कृपाकन्दली ॥

सारिष्ठेषु कम्पानदीतीरेषु कृपाकन्दली श्रीकामाक्षी सर्वमङ्गला शरणागतजनता-
 वनप्रवणा राजते । कल्याणमत्र फलम् । कन्दली च वर्षासु वनस्थलीषु
 स्वैरमात्मानमङ्कुरयति । कृपया चेयं कन्दली कम्पातटे जृम्भते । वनकन्दली च
 नैव फलिनी । कृपाकन्दली पुनरियं कल्याणजन्मस्थलीति व्यतिरेकविशेषः ।
 कलयन्तु च सद्भयः बहुविधमुल्लेखान्—

श्यामा काचन चन्द्रिका त्रिभुवने, पुण्यात्मनामानने
 सीमाशून्यकवित्ववर्षजननी या कापि कादम्बिनी ।

मारारातिमनोविमोहनविधौ काचित्तमःकन्दली

कामाक्ष्याः करुणाकटाक्षलहरी कामाय मे कल्पताम् ॥

अन्यत्र—

या तुङ्गस्तनमण्डलोपरि लसत्कर्पूरलेपायते

या नीलेक्षणरात्रिकान्तिततिषु ज्योत्स्नाप्ररोहायते ।

या सौन्दर्यधुनीतरङ्गततिषु व्यालोलहंसायते

कामाक्ष्याः शिशिरीकरोतु हृदयं सा मे स्मितप्राचुरी ॥

अम्बिका च अच्छिन्ना अमलसन्ताना च सौन्दर्यसरित् इति स्वारस्यमत्र संपूर्णम् । अम्बिकामेकत्र कृपाकन्दलीत्वेन, अन्यत्र कविताकल्पवल्लीत्वेन, अपरत्र सौन्दर्यधुनीत्वेनेत्येवं कम्पमुल्लिखति कविभक्तिसुषमा ।

भावयतान्यत्र वाचमभिजातामम्बिकायाः—

कलमञ्जुलवागनुमित-

गल्पञ्जरगतशुकप्रहोत्कण्ठ्यात् ।

अम्ब ! रदनाम्बरं ते

बिम्बफलं शम्भरारिणा न्यस्तम् ॥

विशिष्य जगदम्बां वाक्स्वरूपत्वेन निधायन्तश्च कत्रयः अभिजातवाचो हि भवन्ति । तथाचैकत्र श्रीकालिदासः—

स्वरेण तस्याममृतस्रुतेव

प्रजल्पितायामभिजातवाचि ।

अप्यन्यपुष्टा प्रतिकूलशब्दा

श्रोतुर्वितन्त्रीरिव ताड्यमाना ॥

इदन्तया वर्णयितुमपारीणः श्रीकविकुलकोकिलः अम्बिकावाचम्, स्वानुभवं तत्र प्रकटयति यत्किञ्चिद्दृष्टान्तदानेन । आर्याया वाचं श्रुत्वा कश्चित्—समीचीनः श्रोता चेत्—कषायकण्ठीम्, उक्कूलं पुष्पसाधारणे वसन्ते कूजन्तीं कोकिलामपि वितन्त्रीं कठोराङ्गुलिभिस्ताड्यमानां—न तु वाद्यमानां—वल्लकीमिव कलयेत्, क्रेङ्काररुक्षैः काकैः खलु पुष्टा सा, अन्यपुष्टा, इति । श्री मूकवाणी चैवं समुल्लसत्यत्र । आर्यायाः वाचमिदन्तया ईदृक्तया वा प्रहीतुकामोऽयं कविः, तथा कर्तुमपारीणः, बाह्यं खलु रदनाम्बरं वर्णयति—अम्ब ! नेदं रदनाम्बरम्, किन्तर्हि, पक्वं बिम्बफलं शम्भरारिणा न्यस्तम् । किमर्थमत्र निक्षिप्तं तेन ?

उच्यते । मन्मथः खलु विविधविलासरसराशिः, सुन्दरवस्तुसङ्कलने जागरूकः, कुतूहलो, नित्यं वसन्तक्रीडी, सुजातं शुक्रं ग्रहीतुकामः, लोकालोकमाहिण्डमानः ओं, तव समीपं यदा आजगाम, तदा, कलमञ्जुलया=अव्यक्त-मधुरया, तव वाचा श्रुतया, 'हन्त ! जितं मया ; दृश्यतेऽत्र मदीप्सितः शुक्रतल्लजः वलित्रयाङ्किते गलपञ्जरे' इति निपुणमनुमिमानस्तं प्रतिपालयन्, सुचिरं स्थित्वा सः, 'बहिः नायात्ययं जालमः, भवतु निर्गमयामि' इति तत्प्रेष्ठं बिम्बफलं प्रचिक्षेपात्र । 'आयास्यति शुक्रः फलं तुण्डेन खण्डयितुं, यावत् गृह्णामि झटिति जालिक इव' इति मन्मथस्य मनोरथः । अत इदं बिम्बफलम् ! सुजाता खलु आर्याया वाक्, तत्पेटिकाताम्बूलसारेण कवयांबभूव श्रीमूकः, सोऽपि तामिदन्तया निर्देष्टुं नैव शक्नोति, किन्तु बहिरेव भ्रामं भ्रामं रदनाम्बरं लावण्यफलं वर्णयति किञ्चिदिव । तत्र पुनः मन्मथेन बकवन्धकौशलं प्रदर्श्यते, इत्येवं जनन्या वाचः, तत्पेटिकायाः गलस्य, लावण्यफलस्य रदनाम्बरस्य च सौन्दर्यध्वनिः, अन्ततश्च मन्मथबकवन्धकौशले हासध्वनिरित्येवमादि, कलयन्ती हि जृम्भते श्री-मूककविभक्तिसुषमेति दिक् ॥

ननु सर्वमिदं नैकान्तमधुरं शब्दचित्रमिव खलु प्रतिभाति, अतिवेलमनु-प्रासादिश्रवणेन ? अथ शब्दचित्रमिति नः कः सम्प्रत्ययः ? यत्र केवलं सरसकवितादुर्भिक्षयोगात् दुष्टे पथि सरस्वती हठाकृष्यते, यत्र च कमठपृष्ठनिष्ठुरं कर्णारुन्दमक्षराडम्बरमात्रफलकं क्लेशः श्रोतृभिरनुभूयते, तत्र हि दोषोऽयं गण्यते । वाचालीभूते हि श्रीमूके जगज्जननीपादसेवादरेण, शब्दार्थालङ्काराः स्वच्छन्दमपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्तनीयतया समापतन्त्यहमहमिकया, सूर्यांशुभिर्भिन्ने सरोजे मधुकरा इव । अर्थसुषमा हि शब्दसुषमां पुष्पाति ; तत्र किं क्रियताम् ? अत एव चात्र भावुकानां प्रीतिर्भवति ; प्रीतिजनकं च काव्यमुत्तममित्याधुनिकाः काव्यज्ञाः । व्युत्पत्तिः भवतु वा मा वा, भवन्ती भवत्येव, न निवार्यते । (प्रीतिप्रधानं च काव्यम् Literature of power, व्युत्पत्तिप्रधानं च Literature of Knowledge इति व्यपदिश्यते पाश्चात्यसरण्याम्) श्रीपञ्चशतीश्रवणेन धीमन्तो माद्यन्ति मधुनेव मधुव्रताः इति अनुभवबलाद्वाढं प्रतियन्यभिज्ञाः, प्रीतिप्रधानं काव्यरत्नं श्रीमूकपञ्चशतीति । अतो नैवात्र नैकान्तमधुरशब्दचित्र-शङ्काप्रसरः काव्यमार्मिकाणाम् । शब्दार्थसाहित्यं च श्रीगौरीगिरीशघटनोपमं सम्पाद्य, रसतादात्म्यं ततोऽयधिकं कलयति श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमा, यतो बराका अपि मादृशा अम्बिकोन्मुखा भ न्ति, देवीं च पृच्छन्ति—

कर्पूरैर्मृतांशुभिर्जननि ! ते कान्तैश्च चन्द्रातपैः

मुक्ताहारगुणै र्भृणालवलयै र्मन्दस्मितश्रीरियम् ।

श्रीकाश्चीपुरनायिके ! समतया संस्तूयते सज्जनैः

तत्तादृङ्मम तापशान्तिविधये किन्देवि ! मन्दायते ॥

श्रीमूकश्च न केवलं काव्यकविः, किन्तु पादकविः पदकविरपि । काव्यविषयं च जगदम्बां पदेनैकेन झटिति लम्भयत्यस्मान्, आदधाति चास्मासु निरतिशयामम्बिकाव्युत्पत्तिम्, अम्बिकाभक्तिं च । विघ्नघ्नव्यमिदमत्र पद्यरत्नम्—

एका माता सकलजगतामीयुषी ध्यानमुद्रां

एकाम्राधीश्वरचरणयोरेकतानां समिन्धे ।

ताटङ्कोद्यन्मणिगणरुचा ताम्रकर्णप्रदेशां

तारुण्यश्रीस्तबकितरुचा तापसी कापि बाला ॥

कथं त्रिभुवनैकसुन्दरां अपर्णां ध्यानमुद्रया जगदीश्वरमवापेति सकलमिदं श्रीकुमारसम्भवादौ सरसं भावपूर्णं च चित्रितं कथातत्त्वमञ्जसा हृदि लगत इत्यत्र मानं स्वानुभूतिः । स्तान्नामैकं पदमेव तत्र पर्याप्तम्, विशिष्यार्याशतके—

उररीकृतकाश्चिपुरीं

उपनिषदरविन्दकुहरमधुधाराम् ।

उन्नम्रस्तनकलशीं

उत्सवलहरीमुपास्महे शम्भोः ॥

शं भवत्यस्मादिति शम्भुः ; अनयैवोत्सवलहरी शम्भोः शम्भुत्वमिव ।

अङ्कुरितस्तनकोरकं

अङ्कालङ्कारमेकचूतपतेः ।

आलोकेमहि कोमलं

आगमसंलापसारयाथार्थ्यम् ॥

पुञ्जितकरुणमुदञ्चित-

शिञ्जितमणिकाश्चि किमपि काश्चिपुरे ।

मञ्जरितमृदुलहासं

पिञ्जरतनुरुचि पिनाकिमूलधनम् ॥

‘पिनाकिमूलधनम्’, ‘शूलपाणिशुद्धान्तम्’, ‘आगमसंलापसारयाथार्थ्यम्’, ‘पर-शिबोल्लासम्’,—इत्येवं कति महामन्त्रा नोपदिश्यन्ते ? श्रीविद्यादीक्षायां च

अस्माकं श्रीभूककविभक्तिमुषमैव देशिकति । नैतादृशं शब्दशौर्यं कुत्राप्यनु-
भूतचरम्, येन निरुपमशौर्येण संस्कृतभाषामार्मिकाणां मनः समुत्तेजितमुद्विन्नरो-
माञ्चमोहनन्दसान्द्रं चटुलं विस्मेरं नानटीति, मनोरथञ्चैवं चर्करीति—

वरीवर्तु स्थेमा त्वयि मम गिरां देवि ! मनसो
नरीनर्तु प्रौढा वदनकमले वाक्यलहरी ।
चरीचर्तु प्रज्ञाजननि ! जडिमा नः परजने
सरीसर्तु स्वैरं जननि ! मयि कामाक्षि ! करुणा ॥

केचन ‘शीलितान्तरङ्गाः’ पर्यनुयुञ्जते—किमिति देवताध्यानपद्धतौ
परममाहेश्वरोऽयं कविः शृङ्गारमतिवेलमाद्रियते ? किमिति काव्यसामान्ये स्तन-
जघननितम्बादिशब्दा अनारतमाप्रेष्यन्ते जुगुप्सवहाः ? इति । तेष्वेकोऽपि वा
सचेताः पृष्ठो व्याचष्टाम् । किमत्रोपात्तः शृङ्गारः कलयाऽपि जुगुप्सामावहति ?
विमृश्यन्तान्तावत्पद्यानीमानि—

तुङ्गाभिरामकुचभर-
शृङ्गारितमाश्रयामि काश्चिगतम् ।
गङ्गाधरपरतन्त्रं
शृङ्गाराद्वैततन्त्रसिद्धान्तम् ॥
अङ्कितशङ्करदेहां
अङ्कुरितोरोजकङ्कणाश्लेषैः ।
अधिकाश्चि नित्यतरुणीं
अद्राक्षं काश्चिदद्भुतां बालाम् ॥
यूना केनाऽपि मिल-
देहा स्वाहासहायतिलकेन ।
सहकारमूलदेशे
संविद्रूपा कुटुम्बिनी रमते ॥
पुण्या काऽपि पुरन्ध्री
पुङ्खितकन्दर्पसम्पदा वपुषा ।
पुलिनचरी कम्पायाः
पुरमथनं पुलकनिचुलितं कुरुते ॥

कामजेतारं खलु मोहयति सा, न तु कामवशंवदम्, ‘मारद्वोहिमनोविमोहनचणा’
हि सा, न तु मन्मथाविष्टं मदयति, गङ्गाधरपरतन्त्रा हि सा, न तु

अबलैकरसिकवशंवदा, पुरमथनं ननु पुलकनिचुलितं कुरुते सा निखतरुणी, न तु पौरं विलासिनम् । तदेवं सर्वत्र ईशानमुद्रया हि शृङ्गारः सुरक्षितः, यतः कुमतिकल्पना अत्र कुण्ठीभवन्ति । अनयैव ऐशानमुद्रया पुण्ये पुरन्ध्र-लोके जननीभावं लम्भयत्यच्छलं सचेतसः श्रीमूकमहाकविः, अहो श्रीमूकपञ्च-शतीव्युत्पत्तेरुल्लासः ! रससर्वस्वं हि शृङ्गारः अलौकिकः, येन जगदिदं धार्यते इत्यत्र कविहृदयम् । पारमैशं च तत्त्वमिदं विश्वरक्षानिपुणं पुण्यमत्र निषेव्यते । एतादृशवर्णनया निरवद्यपेशलाङ्गयाः अम्बिकायाः अणिमाद्यष्टैश्वर्यम्, विशिष्य वशित्वं विवक्ष्यत इति तान्त्रिकतल्लजाः श्रीभट्टभास्करप्रभृतयः साम्प्रदायिकाः ।

किञ्चेदं शीलितान्तरङ्गः कश्चित्पृष्ठो व्याचष्टाम्—अपि स्तनजघन-नितम्बादिशब्दश्रवणेनैव जुगुप्सा भवति ? तत्थं यदि भवति, मुञ्जुलकला हि अस्तमियात्, कृत्स्नं जगत् जायेत ध्वान्तम् । यदि नेष्यन्ते, निष्कास्यन्तां भोः ! गलहस्तिकया शब्दरङ्गादिमे, अर्थप्रपञ्चाद्वा ! अपि च भोः ! श्री मधुरानगर्या अम्बिकासनिधाने स्थपतिटङ्किता श्रीमीनाक्षीप्रतिमा रेखाविभक्तं सुविभक्तगात्रीति चित्तं कुटिलं विक्रियते वा ? आप्ततमा निजानुभूतिस्तावत् पृच्छ्यताम् । ‘भवन्ति साम्येऽपि निविष्टचेतसां वपुर्विशेषेष्वतिगौरवाः क्रियाः’ । वपुर्विशेषो हि वशित्वरूपैश्वर्येण बहिरश्चनशीलानीन्द्रियाणि समावर्ज्य तनोत्यन्तर्मुखम् ; अधिहृदयं च पूर्णकुम्भोच्चलितन्यायेन विविधान् रसानुल्लासयति । सूक्तं महा-कविना केनचित् ‘आनन्दयत्यन्तरनुप्रविश्य सूक्तिः कवेरेव सुधासगन्धा’, ‘निर्वेदभीशोकजुगुप्सितान्याप्यायान्ति साहित्यपथे रसत्वम्’ इति । न हि साहित्य-घण्टापथे जुगुप्सा नाम किञ्चित्, रसस्य साम्राज्यात् ॥

प्रकृतिरामणीयकेषु सर्वत्र अम्बिकाकला चकारिति । तदत्रावधेयम् प्रायशः कवयः अचेतनेषु चैतन्यं पश्यन्ति, अत एव चाचेतनान्भावान् चेतनीकुर्वन्ति । अयं तु चैतन्यमचेतनेष्वधाय बहुधा चेतनमचेतनीकृत्य चैतन्याचेतनसम्भेदेनैव प्रपञ्चतरुं निर्वेणयन् अन्ततः अचेतनव्यावृत्त्या ‘मत्स्थानि सर्वभूतानि न चाहं तेष्ववस्थितः । न च मत्स्थानि भूतानि पश्य मे योगमैश्वरम् ॥ इतिन्यायेन

लीये पुरहरजाये

माये तवतरुणपल्लवच्छाये ।

चरणे चन्द्राभरणे

काञ्चीशरणे नतार्तिसंहरणे ॥

इत्यन्ततः संविद्धने अम्बिकातश्चे निष्ठां लम्भयत्यस्मान् । प्रहेलिकाफक्किकया
कविसमयप्रसिद्धया सौन्दर्यसुषमां कलयति कविभक्तिसुषमा ।

ताम्राम्भोजं जलदनिकटे तत्र बन्धूकपुष्पं
तस्मिन्मल्लीकुसुमसुषमा तत्र वीणानिनादम् ।
व्यावृण्वाना सुकृतलहरी कापि काञ्चीनगर्यां
ऐशानी सा कलयतिरामैन्द्रजालं विलासम् ॥

जलदनिकटे=उपचिकुरनिकरं, ताम्राम्भोजं=रुचिरं मुखारविन्दं, तत्र बन्धूकपुष्पं=
विमृष्टरागं लावण्यफलं अधरोष्ठं, तस्मिन् मल्लीकुसुमसुषमा=मल्लीदामरम्या
दन्तपङ्क्तिः, दशनांशुसंस्कृता स्मितउग्रोत्सना वा, तत्र वीणानिनादं=श्रोत्रपेयं
कलमञ्जुलवाग्विशेषं व्यावृण्वाना ऐशानी सा सुकृतलहरी ऐन्द्रजालं विलासं
कलयतिरामित्येतत् ।

कालाम्भोदे शशिरुचिदलं कैतकं दर्शयन्ती
मध्येसौदमिनि मधुलिहां मालिकां राजयन्ती ।
हंसारावं विकचकमले मञ्जुमुल्लासयन्ती
कम्पातीरे विलसति नवा कापि कारुण्यलक्ष्मीः ॥

कालाम्भोदे=चिकुरनिकरे, कैतकदलं=वक्रामिन्दुकलां, मध्येसौदमिनि=काञ्चन-
गौराङ्गे, मधुलिहां मालिकां=तन्वीं नवरोमराजिं, राजयन्ती=परभागलाभादुत्ते-
जयन्ती, विकचकमले=पादारविन्दयुगले, हंसारावं=मञ्जुमञ्जीरनिनदं उल्लास-
यन्ती विलसति इत्येतत् ।

आहारांशं त्रिदशसदसामाश्रये चातकानां
अकाशोपर्यपि च कलयन्नालयं तुङ्गमेषाम् ।
कम्पातीरे विहरतितरां कामधेनुः कवीनां
मन्दस्मेरो मदननिगमप्रक्रियासम्प्रदायः ॥

आहारांशं त्रिदशसदसां=अजरामराणां पीयूषखण्डम्, चन्द्रकलामितियावत्,
आश्रये चातकानां=कालाम्भोदे, केशहस्ते, आकाशोपरि=द्वयणुकोदरोपरि, एषां=
त्रिदशसदसाम्, तुङ्गमालयं=महामेरुम्, उन्नम्रस्तनकलशमिति यावत्, कलयन्
कम्पातीरे मदननिगमप्रक्रियासम्प्रदायो विहरतितराम्—इत्येतत् ॥

एवं ओतप्रोतभावेन “सोहं हंसः” इति यथा ब्रह्मनिष्ठः तथा,
अम्बिकासम्भिन्नं प्रपञ्चजातं संकलय्य, सरसमधुरं रसस्वरूपे अखण्डे श्रीकामाक्षी-
नामधेये सौन्दर्यरूपधेये निष्ठामेत्ययं भक्ताग्रणीः कविरिति विदाङ्कुर्वन्स्वार्थाः ।

‘इह चेदवेदादथ सत्यमस्ति न चेदिहावेदीन्महती विनष्टिः’ इति श्रुत्यनुसारम्, अत्रैव निस्तुलं सकलमानन्दं कलयति कविः जीवन्मुक्तः । कवयस्त्वितरे खण्डशः सौन्दर्यकलां प्रकृतिरामणीयकेषु दृष्ट्वा पर्युत्सुर्काभवन्ति ‘प्रायेण साम-प्रयविधौ गुणानां पराङ्मुखी विश्वसृज. प्रवृत्तिः’ इत्येवम् । अयं पुनः श्री-मूकः सर्वत्र प्रसृमरां सौन्दर्यकलां साकल्येन संकलय्य, सीमाशून्यकवितया आनन्दसान्द्रो भवतीति श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमावैलक्ष्यम् । कविरयं क्रान्तदर्शी ॥

कलयन्तु च सहृदयाः श्रीमूककवेरुदारदर्शनम् । पञ्चशल्यामनेकशः अद्वैतभावना क्रियते । अखण्डसौन्दर्यसमाधिर्हि श्रीमूककविभक्तिसुषमां पुष्पातीति प्रक्रान्तम् । अम्बिकायाः अवलम्बे तनिमाद्वैतम्, कटाक्षे नीलिमाद्वैतम्, पादारविन्दे अरुणिमाद्वैतम्, मन्दस्मिते धवलिमाद्वैतम्, रूपे तरुणिमाद्वैतम्, तारुण्ये शृङ्गाराद्वैतम्, ध्याने आनन्दाद्वैतमित्येवं सर्वत्र शोभाद्वैतं कलयति महाकविः श्रीमूकाख्यः बार्हदारण्यकैकायनप्रक्रियानुविद्धम् । अहो औपनिषदतल्लजोऽयं कविः ! श्रीमूकभक्तिश्च परमाद्वैतभक्तिरित्यत्र न कापि संशोतिः । विषयिविषयभावपुरस्सरं भक्तिः साधनभक्तिः, तदपनोदनविधं सर्वभेदप्रमोषं या शिष्यते सा साध्यभक्तिः अद्वैतभक्तिरिति श्रीमधुसूदनसरस्वतीप्रभृतयः श्रीशङ्कराचार्यानुयायिनः वेदान्तकेसरिणः । विमृश्यतान्तावत्—

इन्धाने भववीतिहोत्रनिवहे कर्मोघचण्डानिल-

प्रौढिन्ना बहुलीकृते निपतितं सन्तापचिन्ताकुलम् ।

मातर्मा परिषिञ्च किञ्चिदमलैः पीयूषवर्षैरिव

श्रीकामाक्षि ! तवस्मितद्युतिकणैः शैशिर्यलीलाकरैः ॥

कविरत्र उच्चावचं भिन्नं प्रपञ्चजातं समीकर्तुं नैवेष्टे, किन्तर्हि, प्रत्यगात्मशोधनायै-वाम्बिकामाश्रयते, मातः मां परिषिञ्च किञ्चिदमलैरित्येवम् ।

अज्ञातभक्तिरसमप्रसरद्विवेकं

अत्यन्तगर्वं अनधीतसमस्तशास्त्रम् ।

अप्राप्तसत्यमसमीपगतं च मुक्तेः

कामाक्षि ! नैव तव काङ्क्षति दृष्टिपातः ॥

पद्यरत्नेऽस्मिन् श्रीमूककविः अद्वैतभक्तिक्रमं दर्शयति—मुमुक्षा, सत्याचरणम्, समस्तशास्त्रानिनिषेवणम्, शमदमादिसम्पत्, विवेकोद्भासः, अद्वैतभक्तिरसश्चेति । कर्मबन्धच्छेदं तनोति श्रीकामाक्षीचरणकमलसेवा, येन आनन्दाद्वैतं सिद्धमेव सेत्स्यत्यखण्डम्—

वषट्कुर्वन् माञ्जीरककलकलैः कर्मलहरी-
 हवींषि प्रोद्दण्डं ज्वलति परमज्ञानदहने ।
 महींयान् कामाक्षि ! स्फुटमहसि जोहोति सुधियां
 मनोवेद्यां मातस्तवचरणयज्वा गिरिसुते ॥

किञ्च, अतद्व्यावृत्त्या प्रपञ्चं थूकृत्य सारिष्टं मामकं शाश्वतं तत्त्वं शास्त्रसरणौ
 सञ्चरिणुभिः कुशलधिषणैः अधिगम्यत इत्येतत् श्रीकामाक्षीचरणसेवामहिमा—

जगन्नेदं नेदं परमिति परित्यज्य यतिभिः
 कुशाग्रायस्वान्तैः कुशलधिषणैः शास्त्रसरणौ ।
 गवेथ्यं कामाक्षि ! ध्रुवमकृतकानां गिरिसुते !
 गिरिमैदम्पर्यं तत्र चरणमाहात्म्यगारिमा ॥

पञ्चशत्या हि श्रीमूकमहाकविः रसिकमण्डलीमेवमुद्धोधयति, विना
 शब्दार्थैक्यमुमामहेश्वरघटनासङ्काशम्, सन्तापचिन्ताकुलम्, निर्वेदनिष्ठं मादृशानां
 मनः, नैव निर्वृतिं लभेत । काव्यकलनया हि, विशिष्य एतादृशभक्तिसुषमा-
 शोभितया काव्यसम्पदा कविः भवकान्तारमपि कान्तं करोति, मधुमत्तमिलिन्द
 इव मञ्जु गुञ्जन् भीममपि चेतः परितोषयति । ये चेमां कलासुषमां न रोचयन्ते
 तान्विहाय कवितल्लजमनुस्मरामः—

सव्यं वपुः शब्दमयं पुरारे-
 र्थात्मकं दक्षिणमामनन्ति ।
 अङ्गं जगन्मङ्गलमैश्वरं तद्
 अर्हन्ति काव्यं कथमल्पपुण्याः ॥

काव्यानुशीलनं नाम नेनेक्ति चित्तम्, करणान्यनक्ति, अनल्पं सुखमस्मास्वा
 दधातीत्याधुनिककाव्यज्ञसमयः । इयं चानुभूतिः सर्वेषां नः अपरोक्षमेव श्री-
 कामकोटीभक्तानाम् । इतोप्यधिकं तावत्, पञ्चशतीपारायणावसरे उद्भिन्नरोमाञ्चमु
 द्गलदश्रुपूरम्, इन्धानभावजालं, आश्चर्यसम्पूढम्, अस्तमितान्यवृत्ति, आनन्दं
 कलयत्यन्तरङ्गम् । अहो कविभक्तिसुषमा, या मूकमेवं निर्भीकमतिगम्भीरं च
 अवीवदत्—

धनेन न रमामहे खलजनान्न सेवामहे
 न चापलमयामहे भवभयान्न दूयामहे ।

स्थिरां तनुमहेतरां मनसि किञ्च काञ्चीरत-

स्मरान्त्रककुटुम्बिनीचरणपल्लवोपासनाम् ॥

श्रीकामकोटि ! समरभेरीभाङ्गारभीषणदशदिशामुखेषु देशान्तरेषु, शतघ्नीस्फोट-
शकलितरुण्डखण्डेषु पौरजानपदेषु, अन्तर्गलगलद्वाष्पपूरं लुलितलुलितं ताभ्यन्तीषु
पण्डितमण्डलोषु, हाहाकारमात्रप्रतीकारे साधुवृन्दे, अकालप्रलयशङ्कातङ्कविधुरे
जगतीतले, समेधतां धीरोपदेशोऽयम्, एधतान्तरां काव्यकलोल्लासः, एधतान्तमां
च काव्यज्ञसमयश्चेति-शिवानुध्यानमेव शरणम् ॥



LETTER TO THE EDITOR.*

My reviewer's first complaint is that the differentiation of *Vidyā* and *Kalā* is hardly convincing. He does not give any reason to support this contention. The lines quoted from *Śukranīti* serves as an evidence only to prove the क्रियात्मकत्व of the arts. They were never meant to support his definition. The reviewer misses the real import of it although it is quite clear.

The reviewer next observes that the author doubts the existence of a person, Bharata by name. I may assure the readers that I have never doubted the existence of Bharata.

The author's criticism of A. K. Kumaraswami's translation of *Abhinaya Darpanam* has elicited comment that it is not supported by adequate reasons. Pages 28, 29, 30 and 31 of the book disprove the reviewer's statement.

"Mr. Nair's assertive statement fails to carry conviction" says the reviewer regarding the 450 years' antiquity of this Kerala Art. While discussing the dates of Śankara Kavi and Vira Kerala Varma, the guru and uncle respectively of the author of 'Rāmanattam', the author quotes the Quilon inscription which mentions the date of Virakerala-Varma. The reviewer repudiates the author's conclusion saying that the said inscription does not refer to the direct authorship of the Āṭṭak-kathā. How could or why should the uncle mention the name of his nephew in this inscription and his works? The charge of अन्योन्याश्रयदोष in the quoting of this inscription is beside the point.

The existence of an inscription in Orissa dated 1499 which tells us that 'Aṣṭapadī' was sung and danced there at that time is mentioned by the reviewer as an evidence to prove that

* This is in connection with a Review by Mr. E. F. Radhakrishnan of a work "Attakkatha or Kathakali, a Critical Study" by Sri P. Krishnan Nair, Vyakarana-Sahitya Siromani, Junior Lecturer in Malayalam, University of Madras. No. 5, Madras University Malayalam Series, 1939, which was published in Volume XIII at page 348.

Aṣṭapadī had been in vogue in Kerala long before the 'Kriṣṇanāṭṭam' and 'Rāmanāṭṭam' came into existence. Looking at the map of India we see that Bengal, the original home of *Aṣṭapadī*, and Orissa are adjacent territories, while Malabar is far far away in the South west. How can this Orissa inscription prove that *Aṣṭapadiyaṭṭam* must have been in practice in Kerala in those years, unless Orissa and Malabar are proved to be identical? The author's case is therefore strengthened by the manuscript evidence he has supplied, which unmistakably proves that 'Aṣṭapadiyaṭṭam' in Kerala is much later.

It is generally accepted by scholars that the name 'Paraiyur' in 'Cilappatikaram' refers to North Parur in Travancore. The reviewer is quite free to have his own view on the subject but he must show sufficient reasons to prove the untenability of the accepted identification instead of dismissing it in a random remark. Nor has he any alternative suggestion to offer.

The reviewer presumes to examine only the book proper but takes up a foot-note from the Prastavana for comment and finds fault with the expression of अशीतविद्य in preference to ज्ञातविद्य. We are at a loss to understand the material difference between the two terms. If the reviewer recognises the authority of Panini he should accept the sutra "न नभूतत्पुरुषात् अचतुरसंगत" (5-1-121) which justifies the use of असंगत्य as more correct than असांगत्य.

TECHNICAL TERMS IN THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYI

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA, M.O.L.

Adyar Library

Pāṇini makes use of nearly 100 technical terms, some having been invented by him and others (probably a larger number) adopted from earlier works. The following have been defined by him.

- (1) वृद्धिः 1.1.1; (2) गुणः 1.1.2; (3) संयोगः 1.1.7; (4) अनुनासिकः 1.1.8; (5) सवर्णम् 1.1.9; (6) प्रगृह्यम् 1.1.11; (7) घु 1.1.20; (8) घ 1.1.22; (9) संख्या 1.1.23; (10) षट् 1.1.24; (11) निष्ठा 1.1.26; (12) सर्वनाम 1.1.27; (13) अव्ययम् 1.1.37; (14) सर्वनामस्थानम् 1.1.42; (15) संप्रसारणम् 1.1.45; (16) लोपः 1.1.60; (17-19) लृक् लृट् लृप् 1.1.61; (20) उपधा 1.1.65; (21) वृद्धम् 1.1.73; (22-24) ह्रस्वः दीर्घः प्लुतः 1.2.27; (25) उदात्तः 1.2.28; (26) अनुदात्तः 1.2.29; (27) स्वरितः 1.2.30; (28) अपठकः 1.2.41; (29) कर्मधारयः 1.2.42; (30) उपसर्जनम् 1.2.43f; (31) प्रातिपदिकम् 1.2.45f; (32) एकेशः 1.2.64; (33) इत् 1.3.2; (34) नदी 1.4.3ff.; (35) षि 1.4.7ff.; (36) लघु 1.4.10; (37) गुरु 1.4.11f; (38) अङ्गम् 1.4.13; (39) पदम् 1.4.14ff; (40) भम् 1.4.18ff; (41) बहुवचनम् 1.4.21; (42-43) द्विवचनम् एकवचनम् 1.4.22; (44) अपादानम् 1.4.24ff; (45) संप्रदानम् 1.4.32; ff. (46) करणम् 1.4.42; (47) अधिकरणम् 1.4.45; (48) कर्म 1.4.49ff; (49) कर्ता 1.4.54; (50) निपातः 1.4.56f; (51) उपसर्गः 1.4.59; (52) गतिः 1.4.60ff; (53) कर्मप्रवचनीयः 1.4.83ff; (54) परस्मैपदम् 1.4.99; (55) आत्मनेपदम् 1.4.100; (56-58) प्रथमः मध्यमः उत्तमः 1.4.101; (59) विभक्तिः 1.4.104; (60) संहिता 1.4.109; (61) अवसानम् 1.4.110; (62) द्विगुः 2.1.52; (63) बहुव्रीहिः 2.2.23; (64) द्वन्द्वः 2.2.29; (65) आमन्त्रितम् 2.3.48; (66) सम्बुद्धिः 2.3.49; (67) उपपदम् 3.1.92; (68) कृत्याः 3.1.95; (69) लृक् 3.2.110ff; (70) लङ् 3.2.111ff; (71) लट् 3.2.114ff; (72) लिट् 3.2.115ff; (73) लृट् 3.2.123ff; (74) लृप् 3.3.15ff;

(75) लङ् 3.3.139ff; (76) लिङ् 3.3.161ff; (77) लेट् 3.3.162ff; (78) लेट् 3.4.7ff; (79) सर्वधातुकम् 3.4.113; (80) आर्षधातुकम् 3.4.114; (81) गोत्रम् 4.1.162; (82) युवा 4.1.163ff; (83) तद्राजः 4.1.172; (84) आग्नेडितम् 8.1.2.

The meagreness of evidence renders it impossible to have a clear-cut division of the *Samjñās* into Pāṇinian and non-Pāṇinian and the authorship of many of these can be decided only by a good deal of further investigation. What is attempted here is only to examine the conclusions arrived at by Goldstücker regarding these and to give certain broad characteristics of Pāṇinian terms which may help future attempts to distinguish these from the rest.

¹Goldstücker thinks that a solution to the above problem is contained in the rule तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् (P. 1.2.53). According to him this rule tells us what we should understand by the term 'Samjñā' in Pāṇini's grammar and thus helps us to mark Pāṇinian terms off from others. He interprets it as follows:-

"Amongst these rules, one (1.2.53) referring to a subject touched on by him in a previous Sūtra, says: "Such matter will not be taught by me, for it falls under the category of conventional terms, which are settled (and therefore do not require any rule of mine; literally: for it has the authority of a samjñā or conventional term)". To these words, Patañjali appends the following gloss: "When Pāṇini speaks of conventional terms which he will not teach because they are settled, does he mean by this expression, such technical terms as *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha*, and the like? No; for samjñā is here the same as samjñāna 'understanding' (i.e., a name which has a real meaning, that may be traced etymologically)". And Kaiyaṭa enlarges upon these words in the following strain:

"The question of Patañjali is suggested by the rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative, because context itself has a greater weight than (mere) analogy." Now, though such terms as *ṭi*, *ghu*, *bha*, and the like, are settled terms, this circumstance would not have been a sufficient reason in an etymological work (like that of Pāṇini) for leaving them untaught, for they have no etymology. 'Understanding' (as Patañjali paraphrases samjñā) means mentally entering into,

understanding the component parts of a word (or it means the words which admit of this mental process.".....)"

From this he derives the following conclusions:—

1. That his grammar does not treat of those Saṃjñās or coventional names which are known and settled otherwise.
2. That this term saṃjñā must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology.
3. That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.
4. That such terms as *ṭi*, *ghu* and *bha*, were known and settled before Pāṇini's grammar, but that, nevertheless, they are defined by Pāṇini because they are not etymological terms.

These conclusions of Goldstücker are based on a wrong interpretation of the rule and the Mahābhāṣya and Pradīpa on it. The correct interpretations of these texts is as follows:—

Pāṇini: तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ।

By 'tad' he refers to the Yuktavadbhāvaśāstra, i.e., the concord of gender and number of primary and derivative nouns and of attributes and substantives, regarding which he has already given two rules, namely लुपि युक्तवद्वयक्तिवचने and विशेषणानां चाजातेः (1. 51-52).

The first rule says that when a Taddhita affix is dropped by *lup*, then the gender and number of the Taddhita word which has thus been derived agree with those of the original word e.g., पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदो पञ्चालाः ।

The second says that the number and gender of such derivatives are the same as those of the latter but not when expressing Jāti, e.g., पञ्चालाः रमणीयाः (but गोदौ ग्रामः when jāti is expressed).

The view contained in these two rules is in fact not Pāṇini's, but that of some of his predecessors. Kāśikā therefore has on P. 1.4.41 the remark:

व्यक्तिवचने इति च लिङ्गसंख्ययोः पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशः । तदीयमेवेदं सूत्रम् । तथा चास्य प्रत्याख्यानं भविष्यति — तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वादिति ।

Pāṇini thinks that no hard and fast rule can be laid down regarding gender and number which more or less depend on usage, and refutes the view of his predecessors in the next rule.

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ।

“This¹ concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives, need not be taught (or approved) because it has the authority of *saṃjñā* (or conventional term or idiom).

The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by the suffix being dropped, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word दारा: ‘wife’ has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to female singular; similarly आप: ‘water’ is always feminine plural in form; so also गृहाः, वर्षाः, सिक्ताः. This Sūtra, therefore, modifies the former Sūtras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.”

In Pāṇini’s grammar ‘Sāṃjñā’ usually (when formed with the Karaṇa-añ) means a technical term; but, since the problem of technical terms has no relation whatsoever to the subject at issue here, namely, the concord of gender and number of derivative and primary words, it is here taken as ending with the Bhāva añ, i.e., as an abstract noun meaning cognition or, to be more clear, understanding by convention. It is true that this Pāda in the beginning deals with some technical terms and the meaning of *saṃjñā* which one understands here from the context, is ‘a technical term’; but since the meaning decided by the context does not have any bearing on the subject dealt with in the Sūtra and since Sāmāthyā, i.e., the potency or the indicative power of the words (one of the six factors given by Jaimini,² which fixes the meaning of a word in a given passage in accordance with its bearing on the subject which is at issue) has greater weight than Prakaraṇa, i.e., the context, *Samjñā* is here interpreted not as ‘a technical term’ but as ‘Sampratyaya’,

1. Vasu, Trāns. of the S. Kaumudī, Vol. 1, pp. 725-726.

2. See Sūtra 3.3.14

i.e., Rūḍhi or convention. What Pāṇini means is this. The gender and number of a word are more or less matters¹ of usage and the efforts of even competent grammarians to fix them cannot turn out successful. In such instances as 'गोदौ ग्रामः' 'हरीतक्यः फलानि' etc., the number or gender of the adjective is justified by convention, i. e., Rūḍhi. Hence, in Pāṇini's view, there is no need to assume such a nominal adjective as a derivative which has preserved the gender or number of the original word. Pāṇini thus differs from his predecessors on this point. All this is made clear by Kaiyaṭa who explains the Mahābhāṣya on this Sūtra—

किं या एताः कृत्रिमाष्टिभुमादिसंज्ञास्तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम् । नेत्याह ।
संज्ञानं संज्ञा—

as follows—

किं या एता इति । प्रत्यासत्त्याश्रयेण प्रश्नः । नेत्याहेति । प्रत्यासत्तेः
सामर्थ्यं बलवत् । न हि टिष्ठुमादिसंज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वं युक्तवद्भावात्शास्त्र-
स्याशिष्यत्वे हेतुरुपपद्यते । संबन्धाभावात् । संज्ञानमिति । अवगमः । संप्रत्यय
इत्यर्थः । तत्र यथापो दाराः सिकताः वर्षाः—इत्युक्ते लिङ्गसंख्यावगतिरुत्पद्य-
माना प्रमाणम्, एवं पञ्चाला वरणा इत्यादावपि । न च पञ्चालादयो यौगिका
अपि तु जनपदादीनां संज्ञास्ततो योगानवगमात् तद्धितो नोत्पद्यत इति लुब्धपि
न वक्तव्यः ॥

Nageśa :

अवगमः संप्रत्यय इत्यर्थः । भावेऽन्तो यौगिकः संज्ञाशब्द इत्यर्थः ।
प्रतीतिप्रामाण्यमवश्यमाश्रयणीयमित्याह ॥

The question of Patañjali is not, as Goldstücker thinks, suggested by the rule of analogy, but by the Paribhāṣā कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययः ।

According to this Paribhāṣā the expression संज्ञा in Pāṇini's grammar can mean only technical terms. Why Patañjali instances only such terms as टि, घु, भ, etc., will be presently made clear. Goldstücker's explanation of Patañjali's

1. Cf. the statement लिङ्गमशिष्यं लोकाश्रयत्वाल्लिङ्गस्य which one very often comes across in the various commentaries on Pāṇini; cf. also such words as आपः, दाराः, etc. given by Kaiyaṭa.

answer (“a name which has a real meaning, that may be traced etymologically”) is against the Pradīpa and Udyota which interpret Saṃjñāna as संप्रत्यय; and since the word here ends in a Bhāvapratyaya it is evidently wrong also. He mistranslates Kaiyaṭa’s प्रत्यासत्ति and सामर्थ्य by ‘analogy’ and ‘context’ respectively. The meanings of these two words are so well established as not to a limit of any misinterpretation. Nageśa gives their unequivocal equivalents as प्रकरणाद्विज्ञं बलवदित्यर्थः. Above all, Goldstücker clearly forgets that the topic dealt with in the Sūtra is far from having any relation to the problem of the technical terms. We have, therefore, to find a solution for this problem of the Saṃjñās not in this Sūtra, nor in the Mahābhāṣya etc., on it, but elsewhere as shown below.

I think we shall not be wrong if, according to Patañjali’s oft-repeated statement¹ संज्ञा नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत् ! लघ्वर्थे हि संज्ञाकरणम् । we decide that all such monosyllabic terms as ṭi, ghu, bha, ghi, etc., are the inventions of Pāṇini whose object it is to secure brevity to the largest extent. The very fact that Patañjali instances only such terms as being understood primarily by Saṃjñā in Pāṇini’s work points to this conclusion. Macdonell also seems to hold a similar view when he says: “Those of Pāṇini’s terms which are real words, whether they describe the phenomenon as sam-āsa ‘compound’ or express a category by an example, as dvi-gu (two-cow) ‘numeral compound’, are probably all borrowed from predecessors. Most of his technical terms are arbitrary groups of letters resembling algebraic symbols.” In the Mahābhāṣya on P. 1.2.53., Patañjali instances ṭi, ghu, bha, etc., as Kṛtrimasamjñās; and the suggestion that these are invented by Pāṇini is transparent in it.

As regards the Mahāsamjñās there is no safe criterion to decide their authorship. Probably most of them are borrowed by Pāṇini from his predecessors. But it must be noted that the adoption of these instead of simpler terms like ṭi, ghu, bha, etc., has various purposes. In certain cases it is to teach that what has been denoted by them must be in accordance with their respective etymological meanings. This is clearly borne out by such statements of Patañjali as the following:—

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1. See the Mahābhāṣya on P. 1.1.22, 26, 32, etc.
 2. A Sanskrit Grammar, Introduction, p. 9.

¹अथवा महतीयं संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत् ? लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनम्—अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत—संख्यायतेऽनया संख्येति ॥

²अथवा महतीयं संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत् ? लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनम्—अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत—सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति । सर्वेषां नामानीति चातः सर्वनामानि ॥

³प्रत्यय इति महती संज्ञा क्रियते । संज्ञा च नाम यतो न लघीयः । कुत एतत् ? लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणम् । तत्र महत्याः संज्ञायाः करण एतत्प्रयोजनम्—अन्वर्थसंज्ञा यथा विज्ञायेत—प्रत्याययतीति प्रत्यय इति⁴ ॥

The definition of a few others is intended by Pāṇini to point out his difference from his predecessors in regard to them. For instance he defines Karmadhāraya as “तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः” in order to bring those compounds under the category of Tatpuruṣa. His predecessors seem to have regarded the Karmadhārayas as a separate class. The Bṛhaddevatā, though much later than Pāṇini, preserves an earlier grammatical tradition when it says:

५दिगुर्द्वन्द्वोऽव्ययीभावः कर्मधारय एव च ।

पञ्चमस्तु बहुव्रीहिः षष्ठस्तत्पुरुषः स्मृतः ॥

It is not clear what evidence Goldstücker has got to adduce that Pāṇini is the first to employ the term Karmadhāraya in the sense stated by him.

1. 1.1.22.

2. 1.1.26.

3. 3.1.1.

4. There are also some more instances where Patañjali repeats this.

5. Cf. the Prakriyāsarvasva:

द्वयोर्गो भवादिति द्विगुर्यस्येह च द्विगुः ।

द्वयोर्हिपदयोरेकद्रव्यवृत्त्याखिलं पदम् ॥

क्रियासंबन्धि यत्र स्यात्स शान्तः कर्मधारयः ।

Samāsaprakaraṇa (Adyar Library Ms. 21. Q. 3).

Vide Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's Introduction to the Prakriyā Sarvasva, Madras University Sanskrit Series, p. 12. Pāṇini, p. 167.

There are yet a few other Mahāsamjñās, e.g., Udātta, Anudātta, Svarita, Samhitā, etc., which are undoubtedly borrowed by Pāṇini from earlier phonetical treatises and whose definitions in the Aṣṭādhyāyī are only to acquaint the Mandabuddhi, i.e., one who has not studied the Prātiśākhya or the Śikṣās with their meaning. Commenting on P. 1.2.32 Patañjali says:

अन्वाख्यानमेव तर्हीदं मन्दबुद्धेः ।

Later commentators and the Samjñāsāstra.

It is perhaps deserving of mention here that the question whether this Samjñāsāstra teaches something new which is not known otherwise, i. e., Apūrvavidhi, or only seeks to restrict the meanings of these terms which are otherwise known, i.e., Niyamavidhi, receives serious attention in later commentaries. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita thinks that it is a Niyamasāstra. In the Śabda-kaustubha he says:

१मदीयशास्त्रे वृद्धिशब्देनदैच एव ग्राह्या इति नियमार्थं सूत्रारम्भात् ।

This has the support of the following Vākyapadiya:—

२व्यवहाराय नियमः संज्ञायाः संज्ञिनि कचित् ।

नित्य एव तु संबन्धो दित्यादिषु गवादिवत् ।

According to Nāgeśa, it is a Vidhiśāstra. In the Laghu-śabdenduśekhara he says:

३सर्वशब्दानां सर्वार्थवाचकत्वेऽपि वाचकत्वस्य गृहीतस्यैव बोधजनकतया संज्ञाशास्त्राणामज्ञातशक्तिज्ञापकतया विधित्वम् ॥

That these terms have only their technical meanings in Pāṇini's grammar is only a general rule; in a few exceptional cases their ordinary meanings have also to be accepted, justification for this being found in the maxim

व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्नहि सन्देहादलक्षणम् ।

In his commentary on P. 1.1.22 Patañjali says:

न यथा लोके तथा व्याकरणे । उभयगतिः पुनरिह भवति । अन्यत्रापि नावश्यमिहैव । तद्यथा—कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्मेति कृत्रिमा कर्मसंज्ञा । कर्मप्रदेशेषु

1. P. 86, Chaukhamba edition.

2. 2. 369.

3. Vol. I, p. 55 (Kāśī Sanskrit Series).

चोभयगतिर्भवति । कर्मणि द्वितीयेति कृत्रिमस्य ग्रहणम् । कर्तरि कर्मव्यतीहार
इत्यत्राकृत्रिमस्य । तथा साधकतमं करणमिति कृत्रिमा करणसंज्ञा । करण-
प्रदेशेषु चोभयगतिर्भवति । कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीयेति कृत्रिमस्य ग्रहणम् ।
शब्दवैरकलहाभ्रकण्वमेवेभ्यः करणे इत्यत्राकृत्रिमस्य । तथाधारोऽधिकरणमिति
कृत्रिमाधिकरणसंज्ञा । अधिकरणप्रदेशेषु चोभयगतिर्भवति । सप्तम्याधिकरणे
चेति कृत्रिमस्य ग्रहणम् । विप्रतिषिद्धज्ञानधिकरणवाचीत्यत्राकृत्रिमस्य ॥



THE CONCEPT OF PRAMĀDA IN SANATSU- JĀTIYAM

BY

“T. S. S.”

The Vedānta philosophy of Sanātana Dharma abounds in passages interpreting the many-sided problems of Life and Death that confront every human being every minute. But no other book than the Sanatsujātīyam presents a more clear, comprehensive and complete comment on the question of Death.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the blind king of the Kurus and father of the hundred Kaurava brothers, after having tasted enough of the bitterness of defeat at the hands of the Pāṇḍavās and lost all his sons, lost also his mental tranquillity and became very uneasy. Just at that time Vidura returned from his long pilgrimage and seeing Dhṛtarāṣṭra unhappy, decided to give him some advice to enable him to renounce once for all the worldly attachment and attain eternal Bliss. Accordingly, Vidura explained among other things that the world is unreal, that all lives are short indeed, and that the only truth is the Self. It is strange, but nevertheless true, that there is an inexplicable natural longing in the mortal man to comprehend and realise the Supreme Immortal Absolute *Ātmān*. If man's natural desire is to realise that Supreme Entity, what prevents him from attaining it? It is *avidyā* or cosmic nescience that throws him headlong into the ocean of miseries. *Ātma-Vidyā* or the knowledge of the Self alone has power to destroy all miseries of a deluded life. ‘तरति शोकमात्मवित्’ (*Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*). One who realises the *Ātma* crosses over the gulf of miseries.

So, when Dhṛtarāṣṭra heard his words, he became so impressed with his advice that he, realising that the highest aim of life is the realisation of *Ātmā*, decided to study under Vidura and thereupon requested Vidura to enlighten him fully on the supremely transcendental subject of *Brahmavidyā*.

Vidura was glad that his few words effected so much change in the mentality of his blind brother. But Vidura pleaded his inability to comply with the request of Dhṛtarāṣṭra

to enlighten him on the subject of *Ātma-Vidyā*, inasmuch as he had no right to teach such a highly recondite Sāstraic subject of *Ātma-Vidyā* as he was born of a Sūdra woman. He, therefore, wanted to delegate the laudable task to more competent and proper hands and recommended the name of Sanatsujāta, "The Eternal Boy." Vidura, thereafter, thought of the "Eternal Boy" and he appeared.

Śrī Sanat कुमार's august presence itself was a source of never-failing inspiration and encouragement to king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. He felt, as it were, that wisdom had dawned on his mind which had been till then hazy with confused ideas. He thought that the best days of his life began only when Vidura spoke to him on the eternity and immutability of the *Paramātmā* and the transient nature of all objects of mundane existence. His heart was saturated with joy at Vidura's benevolent sincerity of heart. It might be remembered that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had already floundered enough in the ocean of miseries and so longed for emancipation once for all from the bondage of *saṃsāra*. This thirst for liberation is the prime requisite of a true aspirant for *Ātma-Vidyā*. Only when the mind is cleansed of all impurities like desire, resentment etc., (काम, क्रोध) is it possible to gain a true perception of the Truth.

So, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, very anxious to learn the Truth, requested Śrī Sanat कुमार to bless him with the Supreme Knowledge (परमा बुद्धिः). "They say" he said, "that you preach to the world the theory of the non-existence of death. But the Devas and the Asuras practised strict continence (*Brahmacarya*) in order to free themselves from the shackles of death. Which of these two facts is right?" The *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* tells us that Indra and Virocana believed in the existence of death and with a view to avoiding it practised *Brahmacarya*. If there existed nothing as death there would not have arisen any necessity for the Devas and the Asuras to take to *Brahmacarya*. So thought Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who asked Sanat कुमार to explain to him whether death existed or not. The "Eternal Boy" was pleased at his query and gave out his reply—a reply intended not only for the enlightenment of the blind king but also for the benefit of the entire 'blind' humanity whose real nature is shrouded in the utter darkness of *Avidyā* or nescience. Some believe that there is death and hope to escape its cruel hands by

the performance of *Vaidika* karmas. These people do not realize that the deathless state is not one attainable by karmas. But there are some others who believe that nothing but the supreme *Ātman* is real, and totally deny the existence of death for Him. These persons recognize the absolute nature of the Imperishable Supreme *Brahman*. Sanatkumāra began to explain to the king the philosophy of death because he knew that the subject on hand was so recondite, subtle and abstruse that any superficial knowledge would lead the latter into a maze. He said that the theory of the existence or non-existence of death dated from the time of creation. Some were of the opinion that death was synonymous with (मोह) the erroneous identification of the perishable body with the Immortal Soul. But he himself preferred to equate it with the still more anterior lapse from the perception of *Brahma* which was responsible for this erroneous identification, and the miseries of birth and death consequent thereon. The state of oneness with the *Para Brahma*, according to him, was the state of deathlessness. The concept of *Pramāda* as enunciated by Śrī Sanatkumāra may thus be illustrated: Ordinarily the word *Pramāda* is used to signify "mistake". We say that through *Pramāda* a man mistakes a rope for a snake. Sanatkumāra points out that this mistaken perception of a snake in the rope is traceable to a still earlier mistake, namely, the *non-perception* of the rope. That is, the non-perception of the rope is the first or causal mistake; the perception of the snake is the second or subsequent mistake. Sanatkumāra prefers to use the word *Pramāda* for the *first* mistake. In Vedānta phraseology, the first mistake is known as *Āvaraṇa* and the second as *Vikṣēpa*.

Here Sanatkumāra substantiated his arguments by advert-
ing to the war between the Suras and the Asuras. Who are Suras and Asuras? Those indulging in sensuous pursuits without attempting to know their real nature are Asuras. (असुषु प्राणेषु इन्द्रियेषु एव रमन्ते इति असुराः). Those who enjoy transcendental joy in the *Ātmā*, which resides in the chamber of their hearts are Suras. (स्वास्मिन् आत्मन्येव रमन्ते इति सुराः) The orthodox commentators consider the above story as an eulogistic remark (अर्थवाद) to point out the omnipotence, the omnipresence and the omniscience of *Brahman*. The Asuras in their war with the Devas were defeated due to their ignorance

of the knowledge of *Brahma* and their attachment to sensual materialism. But the Suras, inasmuch as they comprehended the Supreme Spirit, emerged victorious and glorious.

In fact, death never pounces on its victims nor pierces them with sharp claws like a tiger; for death has no form or shape. Ordinary people identify Yāma with death. And the Purāṇas narrate how Sāvitrī, the chaste and dutiful wife of Satyavān, met Yama in physical form, pleaded for the life of her husband and at last won it from him. It may be unnecessary to consider here whether Satyavān was a "historical" person but the story is *not* allegorical in the sense that we need import anything more than the literal sense. The God of death has a form and the soul leaving the body has also a form and the story has to be taken as literally true. This is not disputed by Sanatkumāra. He only says that the God of Death is not really as deathly as the death of *Pramāda* about which he is talking. But it is not this Death that Sanatkumāra here speaks. It may be pointed out that here and throughout *Sanatsujātīyam* Śrī Sanatkumāra harps on the sole string of *Advaita* and strictly warns us against falling into the hands of *Pramāda*, (प्रमाद) the Real Death. The ignorant think that Yama, the God of death, is a cruel god. The Ācārya says that he is not as they take him to be, but on the other hand, he metes out justice according to the *Punya-Pāpa* (virtue or vice) of man and leads him on the right path, and thus justifies the appellation of Dharma Raja.

So, it is clear that *Pramāda* alone was death. We shall now consider its *modus operandi*. This *Pramāda*, this "death" starts with Egoism and then Desire. In the *Bhagavadgītā* Arjuna puts the question to his Divine Charioteer: "What prompts a man to commit sin even against his will?" Śrī Kṛṣṇa answers: "That is desire. That is anger. That is the product of the quality called *Rajas*." (काम एष क्रोध एष रजोगुणसमुद्भवः). In this world almost all thinking beings are swayed by desire to secure pleasures. It is desire that induces them to action. If there is any obstacle to their getting the desired objects this desire takes the shape of anger towards that obstacle. Anger produces confusion and deprives them of their power of discrimination (विवेक). The state of equanimity is impossible of attainment by a deluded man; he mistakes the forbidden path

to be the right path. Those who are under the devastating influence of ignorance (*Ajñāna*) with its multi-faces like egoism, desire, anger, etc., fall an easy prey to the God of death. After death they pass to the yonder world where they stay till their karmas are exhausted. Again, they take their birth in this world. And the senses hold their sway over them according to their karmas. They become, as it were, their servants and following in their foot-steps revolve in the Samsaric cycle of births and deaths. That is, not having realized the true nature of *Ātma* they flounder in the sea of *Samsāra*, dashed recklessly hither and thither against the rocks of desire, anxiety, etc.

The next point dealt with by the heavenly Ācārya is that *Karma* is the cause of the Samsaric cycle of births and deaths. Our Scriptures say that *Karma* is intended for (चित्तशुद्धि) purifying the mind and that it should be performed without attachment to the fruits thereof. If one does an act with a view to enjoying its fruits he becomes irrevocably bound to *Karma* and its resultant pleasures and pains and is thereby prevented from crossing the ocean of *Mṛtyu-Samsāra*. Why should the desire for the fruits of *Karma* entangle him in the cobweb of *Samsāra*? The Ācārya explains that the man who mistakes the body, etc., to be the *Ātma* is at once deluded into the belief that much real pleasure is derivable from enjoying sense-objects. Just as the blind man stumbles on ruts, pits and on ground covered with thorns and brambles, the man without discrimination rambles about and tumbles down in his search after sensuous pleasures. This unrestricted desire for sensuous pleasures is like an intoxicant to the *Indriyas* or senses. The man unattached to sensuous pleasures is immune from the evil influence of the senses; and these senses, on the other hand, turn their attention *inwards* where resides the *Ātma* and as a consequence delusion is destroyed. But the man attached to sensuous pleasures is ever in the danger zone ready to collapse at any moment; the senses in his case do not go inward but wander about in search of more and more pleasures and the more their store of pleasures the greater their desires grow and the farther the Truth recedes. Wisely did Bhagavan Manu say: "By enjoying desire *Kāma* becomes insatiable even as fire increases more and more with *havis*, i.e., oblations" (*Manu Smṛti* II, 94).

Thus, so long as man retains relationship with the sense-objects known as *Śabda*, *Sparśa*, etc., (sound, touch, etc.,) his miserable condition in the ever-recurring cycle of births and deaths becomes a fixed necessity. For, his kinship with the unreal objects born of ignorance or *Avidyā* makes him lose his inherent lofty Brahmic state and mercilessly makes him experience the bitter fruits of transient misery-giving pleasures of the senses (*Kāminī*, *Kāncana*, etc.) When these take permanent abode in his mind they invite their other friends to settle with them. No wonder he is inextricably caught in their net and is made to dance to their tunes. Need we say that he will be subjected to the severest forms of tyranny at their cruel hands? Enamoured of the objects of *Kāma*, youths stray from the right path and are enmeshed in the maze of *Mṛtyu* (death). But, on the other hand, the wise equanimous men find amidst the fleeting transient world, their eternal state of beatific bliss. These souls alone are called valiant (*dhīrās*). How do these *dhīrās* conquer death and extricate themselves from the grip of *Samsāra*? They consider the sense-objects as unstable, unclean and misery-ridden and spurn them and treat them with the utmost contempt that they rightly deserve. They cleanse their minds of the impurities of *Kāma*. They thus become the *Mṛtyu* of the *Mṛtyu*, the devourer of death. He who destroys sensual desires by his discrimination (*Viveka*) becomes himself the slayer of death; he alone is really learned; he alone is clever; he alone has rightly understood himself.

VEDIC STUDIES

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

SECTION I.

THE ACT OF TRUTH IN THE ṚGVEDA

(Continued from page 236, Vol. XIV)

The word *āpihitāni* in pāda c seems, in spite of the plural number and neuter gender, to be an attribute of the masculine singular noun *ūrvam* in b (see the translation of LUDWIG). I therefore believe that *ūrvam* has the force of the plural, and translate it as 'caves'. GELDNER, on the other hand, supplies the word 'treasures' after *āpihitāni*, and translates pādas cd as 'die mit einem Stein verschlossenen (Schätze) freigegeben wie die aufgebrochene Erde'.

Regarding the mention of horses in connection with the prison of the cows, compare 10, 108, 7 (*ayam nidhiḥ saramē adribudhno gobhir āśvebhir vaśubhir nyr̥ṣṭaḥ*) in which the Paṇis inform Saramā that the treasure within the mountain was 'ornamented with horses, cows and wealth'.

Regarding the expression *kṣās tatṛdānā*, compare *kṣāmā bhindantaḥ* in 4, 2, 16 explained above. I look upon *tatṛdānā* as nominative dual (masculine), and not (as Geldner does) as an epithet of *kṣāḥ*.

(45) 1, 100, 4: so āngirobhir āngirastamo bhūd
vṛṣā vṛṣabhiḥ sakhibhiḥ sakhā san|
rgmibhir rgmī gātubhir jyēṣṭho
marutvān no bhavatv indra ūtī||

"He, the strong one, became with the strong Āngirases the chief Āngiras, a friend with the friends, a chanter with the chanters, the best with the songs—may, Indra accompanied by, the Maruts come to us with his help".

Pāda d is the refrain and occurs at the end of the first fifteen verses of this hymn. The expression *gātubhir jyeṣṭhaḥ* has been explained differently as 'durch förderung der vorzüglichste' (LUDWIG), 'unter den Wegen der Beste' (GELDNER, *RV. Ueber.*), 'der Sänger bester' (GRASSMANN), and as *gātubhiḥ gātavyebhyaḥ stotavyebhyo 'pi jyeṣṭhaḥ atīṣayena stotavyaḥ* (Sāyaṇa). The reference in *ṛgmibhir ṛgmī* and *gātubhir jyeṣṭhaḥ* is to the spells of truth of the Aṅgirasas and of Indra.

(46) 4, 17, 10: *ayaṃ śṛṇve adha jāyann uta ghnann*
ayaṃ uta pra kṛṇute yudhā gāḥ|
yadā satyaṃ kṛṇute manyum indro
viśvaṃ dṛḷhaṃ bhayata ējad asmāt||

"He is well-known as conquering and smiting, and he drives forth the cows by means of a fight. When Indra makes a spell of truth, all solid (mountains or forts) move from fear of him".

satyaṃ manyum = *satyaṃ mantram* or spell of truth; compare *satyo manyuḥ* in 2, 14, 14 explained above. Regarding the use of the verb *kṛ* with words denoting 'spell', compare 4, 16, 20: *eved indrāya vṛṣabhāya vṛṣṇe brahmākarma* 'we have thus made a spell for the strong excellent Indra', and 10, 39, 14: *etaṃ vāṃ stomam aśvināv akarma* 'this hymn, O Aśvins, we have made for you'.

viśvaṃ dṛḷhaṃ = all solid things; that is, all solid mountains or forts. The meaning of pādas cd is, 'when Indra utters a spell of truth, even the solid mountains become, by virtue of the spell, mobile, that is, are hurled afar and shattered'. Sāyaṇa and other exegetists however understand *manyu* as 'anger',¹ and translate pāda d as 'everything, fixed and moving, feels afraid of him'.

(47) 7, 75, 7: *satyā satyebhir mahatī mahadbhir*
devī devebhir yajatā yajatraiḥ|
rujad dṛḷhāni dadad usriyānām
prati gāva uṣasaṃ vāvaśanta||

1. Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) interprets *manyu* as *Eifer* here.

“The utterer of (spells of) truth, the great, divine, worshipful (Uṣas), with the (Aṅgirasas), utterers of (spells of) truth, great, divine and worshipful, shattered the solid (mountain-prisons) and gave the cows. The cows lowed towards Uṣas”.

This verse is addressed to Uṣas, who is called *āṅgīrastamā* ‘chief Aṅgiras’ in verse 1 of this hymn: *āṅgīrastamā pathyā ajīgaḥ* and in 7, 79, 3: *vi divo devī duhitā dadhātī āṅgīrastamā sukr̥te vasūni*; and it represents her as shattering the mountain and freeing the cows in the company of the Aṅgirasas who are referred to by the epithets *satyebhiḥ*, *mahadbhiḥ*, *devaiḥ* and *yajatraiḥ*.

Uṣas is similarly associated with the Aṅgirasas in 6, 65, 5: *idā hi ta uṣo adrisāno gotrā gavām āṅgīraso gr̥ṇānti* explained above, and in 4, 51, 4: *kuvit̥ sã devīḥ sanayo navo vā yāmo babhūyād uṣaso vo adya | yenā navagve āṅgīre daśagve saptāsye revatī revad ūṣa* ‘O Dawns, goddesses, is your way now old or new, is it (the same) as ye followed with wealth, O ye rich ones, when ye dawned on Navagva, Aṅgira, Daśagva and Saptāsya’?¹ But while verses 10, 138, 1; 7, 76, 4; 4, 3, 11; 4, 1, 13; etc., explained above, make out that the Dawn, like the sun and the cows, was imprisoned in the mountain-prison of Vala and was freed, by means of spells of truth, by the Aṅgirasas, Indra and Brhaspati, verses 7, 79, 3 and 7, 75, 1 and 7 (and 6, 65, 5 and 4, 51, 4 also?) make out that Uṣas too was associated with the Aṅgirasas when they rent the mountain and freed the imprisoned cows. Similarly, Uṣas is said to have been produced by the Aṅgirasas and to have opened the doors

1. The words *navagva*, *āṅgira* and *daśagva* have the force of the plural and denote the Navagvas, Aṅgirasas and Daśagvas respectively. The word *saptāsya* denotes either Brhaspati (this is the opinion of Geldner in *RV. Ueber.* who calls attention to 4, 50, 4: *br̥haspatīḥ . . . saptāsyaś tuviṣṭo ravena* which has been explained above), or, more probably, the group of priests known as ‘seven bards’, *sapta viprah̥*.

LUDWIG and GRASSMANN (*Wörterbuch* and *RV. Ueber*) however regard *saptāsye* as an epithet of *daśagve*.

of the solid mountain-prison in 7, 79, 4: *tāvad uṣo rādho asmaḥbhyam rāsva yāvat stotṛbhyo arado grṇānā yām tvā jajñur vṛṣabhasyā raveṇa vi dṛlhasya duro adrer aurnoḥ* "Give us that amount of wealth which thou, being praised, gavest to thy praisers (the Aṅgirasas), O Dawn, whom they produced by means of a roar (like that) of a bull; thou didst open the doors of the solid mountain (-prison)" where the expression *vṛṣabhasyā raveṇa* refers to the spells of truth employed by the Aṅgirasas. Compare also 4, 51, 2: *vy ū vrajasya tamaso dvārocchantīr avrañc chucayaḥ pāvakāḥ* 'the clear, bright Dawns, drawing, opened the doors of the dark stable' and 1, 92, 4: *jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛṇvatī gāvo na vrajaṁ vy uṣā āvar tamaḥ* 'Making light for all the world, Uṣas has opened the dark stable and (set free) the cows'.

The epithet *satyebhiḥ* used in the above verse to denote the Aṅgirasas signifies 'utterers of (spells of) truth'; and hence the epithet *satyā* indicates that Uṣas too was an utterer of spells of truth, and that, like the Aṅgirasas, she too employed such spells for rending the mountain and delivering the cows.

(48) 7, 75, 1: *vy uṣā āvo divijā ṛtenā-
viṣkṛṇvānā mahimānam āgāt|
apa druhas tama āvar ajuṣtam
aṅgirastamā pathyā ajīgaḥ||*

"Uṣas, daughter of Heaven, has, by means of a (spell of) truth, opened (the doors of the mountain-prison); she has come, making manifest her greatness. She has opened the hated malignant dark (cave); the chief Aṅgiras has awakened the paths".

In pāda a, *vyāvah* which is a transitive verb, has no object to govern; and I have therefore supplied the words *dṛlhasya durah* here on the analogy of 7, 79, 4: *vi dṛlhasya duro adrer aurnoḥ*. Alternatively, one can supply the word *tamaḥ*; compare 1, 92, 4: *gāvo na vrajaṁ vy uṣā āvar tamaḥ* cited above.

Sāyaṇa derives *vyāvah* from the root *vas* 'to dwell' and explains it as *vyaucchat vibhānam kṛtavi*; Grassmann translates pāda a as 'rechtzeitig brach hindurch die Himmelstochter' and Ludwig as 'aufgegangen ist Uṣas mit der richtigen zeit'.

"Awakened the paths"=made the paths come into use; *druhaḥ*, in c, is probably neuter accusative plural; see OLDENBERG, *RV. Noten*. It can also be regarded as genitive singular referring to Vala (cp. 1, 1:1 4: *apa druho mānuṣasya duro vaḥ*) in which case pāda c would mean, 'She opened the hated dark cave of the malignant Vala'.

(49) 4, 51, 7: tā ghā tā bhadrā uṣasaḥ purāsur
abhiṣṭidyumnā ṛtajātasatyāḥ|
yāsv ījānaḥ śaśamānā ukthai
stuvāṇ chaṁsan draviṇaṁ sadya āpa||

"These beautiful Dawns of surpassing radiance were formerly born from the (spell of) truth and were utterers of spells of truth, from whom, the sacrificer, performing the work with hymns, singing and praising, received wealth immediately".

ṛtajātasatyāḥ is a karmadhāraya compound of *ṛtajāta* and *satya*; the former term refers to the Dawn being born as a result of the spells of truth employed by the Aṅgirasas, etc., and the latter, to the Dawn herself, after being born, uttering spells of truth with the Aṅgirasas in order to liberate the cows, etc. GLEDNER'S interpretation of *ṛtajātasatyāḥ* as 'die rechtzeitig geborenen und zuverlässigen' (*RV. Ueber.*), is, like those of LUDWIG ('von aus der heiligen ordnung entspringenden wahrhaftigkeit'), of HILLEBRANDT in *Lieder d. RV.* ('wahrhaft kraft heiliger Ordnung'), and of GRASSMANN in his *Wörterbuch* ('das durch heiliges Werk entsprossene Gebet wahr machend'), not satisfactory.

(50) 7, 50, 4: ucchann uṣasaḥ sudinā ariprā
uru jyotir vividur dīdhyānāḥ|
gavyaṁ cid ūrvam uśijo vi vavrus
tēṣām anu pradivaḥ sasrur āpaḥ||

"The unblemished Dawns that bring good days dawned; uttering spells (of truth), they discovered the great light. The Uśijs

opened the cave of the cows; there flowed forth for them the Waters of old”.

Regarding *dīdhyānāḥ*, see 4, 50, 1 explained above; it seems here to be an epithet of the Dawns. *uru jyōtiḥ* is the sun; compare 7, 78, 3: *ajījanant sūryam yajñam agnim apācīnam tamo agād ajuṣtam teṣām = teṣām arthāya*; see 6, 22, 3 explained above. The meaning of *anu pradīvaḥ* is not certain.

(51) 13, 37, 2: *sā mā satyoktiḥ pari pātu viśvato
dyāvā ca yatra tatanann ahāni ca
viśvam anyan ni viśate yad ejati
viśvāhāpo viśvāhodeti sūryaḥ*||

“May this spell of truth protect me on all sides where heaven and earth stretch and days stretch: ‘All others that move, rest; the Waters (move) always, the sun moves up always’ ”.

The spell of truth referred to in pāda a seems to be the statement contained in pādas c d. The meaning of pādas a b is: in all places where there are earth and sky, on all days, may the following spell of truth protect me on all sides.

Like AV. 4, 18, 1 explained above, this verse too contains a spell for the purpose of conferring protection. Compare Sāyaṇa’s explanation: *sā satyoktiḥ tat satya-vacanam mā mām viśvataḥ sarvataḥ paripātu parirakṣatu| yayā satyoktyā yatra yasmin deṣe dyāvā ca pṛthivī ca dyāvā-pṛthivyau ahāni rātrayaś ca tatanan atavan tatra viśvam sarvam anyad bhūta-jātam ejati kampate viśvāhā sarvadā āpaś ca syandante viśvāhā sarvadā sūryaś codeti sā satyoktir mām paripātv ity arthaḥ*. GELDNER’S explanation (*RV. Komm.*) of *dyāvā* as ‘night and day’ and of *satyokti* as ‘hymn to Sūrya’ seems to be less satisfactory than the explanations of Sāyaṇa.

(52) 10, 35, 7: *pīpartu mā tad ṛtasya pravācanam
devānām yan manuṣyā amanmahi|
viśvā id usrāḥ spaḥ ud eti sūryaḥ
svasty agnim samidhānam imahe*

“May that utterance of (the spell of) truth protect me, which we, men, have uttered before the gods, “The sun, lo! rises

verily in all mornings". We pray the kindled Agni for well-being"

Pāda d is the refrain which occurs at the end of ten, out of fourteen, verses of this hymn which is addressed to the Viśvedevas.

Like 10, 37, 2 explained above, this verse too seems to contain a spell for protection. In pāda c, I am inclined to agree with OLDENBERG (*RV. Noten*) that *spaṭ* is an interjection. *amanmahi*=have uttered; see the explanation of 10, 138, 1 above.

Regarding the presence of gods at the time of uttering spells of truth, compare the observations of BURLINGAME (on pp. 432-3 l. c.) cited above in the explanation of 4, 1, 13; compare also the passage from the Tantrākhyāyikā cited above.

(53) 1, 67, 5: *aḥ na kṣām dādhāra pṛthivīm*
tastambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyaiḥ||

Hymn 1, 67 is addressed to Agni and consists of ten *dvipadā* verses. The meaning of the above verse is: "Like the Unborn, he (Agni) supported the wide earth, he supported the sky, by means of spells of truth".

Regarding the comparison in pāda a, compare 8, 41, 10: *ya skambhena vi rodasī aḥ na dyām adhārayat* 'Who has, with a pillar, supported heaven and earth, as the Unborn supports the sky'; 10, 82, 6: *ajāsyā nābhāv adhy ekam arpitam yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthuḥ* 'The one rests in the navel of the Unborn in whom all the worlds stand supported'; and 1, 164, 6: *vi yas tastambha śaḥ ime rajāmsy ajasya rūpe kim api svid ekam* 'Is the one also (resting) in the body of the Unborn who has supported these six worlds'?

OLDENBERG interprets *aja* as 'goat' in SBE. 46, p. 61, and refers (in his note on p. 62) to his *Religion d. Veda*, p. 72. I believe however with Sāyaṇa, GELDNER (*RV. Über.*) and BERGAIGNE (III, 21 ff.) that *aja* signifies here 'unborn', that is, the supreme unborn god.

Pāda a, it will be noticed, contains two words *kṣām* and *pṛthivīm*, denoting 'earth'. OLDENBERG (SBE. 46, p. 61) construes the two words with *aja* and [agni] respectively, and

translates pāda a as, "As the goat (supports) the earth, thus he supports the earth". Ludwig translates the pāda as, 'als der ungeborene tragt er den wohnsitz, die erde', and GELDNER (*RV. Über.*) as 'wie der Ungeborene befestigte er den Erdboden'. Sāyaṇa interprets *kṣām* as 'earth' and *ṛthivīm* as *antarikṣam*. GRASSMANN proposes in his *Wörterbuch* (s. v. *kṣā*) that one should read *kṣāmam* instead of *kṣām*, and translates pāda a as 'Als ew' ger trug er - die Erd' als Wohnsitz' in his *RV. Über.*; and MAX MÜLLER conjectures (*SBE.* 46, p. 62) that the proper reading is *dyām*, not *kṣām*, and that the pāda signifies, 'He, Agni, supports the earth as the buck the sky'. LANMAN and HILLEBRANDT propose (see OLDENBERG, *RV. Noten*) to emend *kṣām* to *kṣasam* and *kṣāyam* respectively.

For my part, I am inclined to believe that *ṛthivīm* is an attribute of *kṣām* and denotes 'wide' here. Compare the analogous use of the word in 5, 85, 4: *unatti bhumim ṛthivīm uta dyām* 'he wets the wide earth and the sky'.

The expression *māntrebhiḥ satyaiḥ* should be construed with the word *tastambha* and with *dādhāra* also.

(54) 5, 1, 7: praṇu tyam vipram adhvaṛṣu sādhum
 agniṃ hotāram īlate namobhiḥ
 ā yas tatāna rodasī ṛtena
 nītyam mṛjanti vājinam ghṛtena||

"They worship him with adorations, Agni, the bard, the hotṛ efficient in the sacrifices, who has extended the two worlds by means of a (spell of) truth. They adorn (him), the beloved, (like a) racehorse, with ghee".

In pāda c, the idea of supporting is implicit in that of extending as, without support, the extended worlds would collapse and the extending futile. The sentence *ā yas tatāna rodasī ṛtena* is thus almost synonymous with 1, 67, 5 explained above. Compare also in this connection 3, 6, 5: *tava kratvā rodasī ā tatantha* 'Thou hast extended the earth and sky by means of thy spell'; 7, 5, 4: *tvam bhāsā rodasī ā tatanthā-*

jasreṇa śociṣā śoṣucānaḥ 'Shining with brightness, with inexhaustible brilliance, thou hast extended the earth and sky'; and 3, 5, 10: *ud astambhīt samidhā nākam ṛṣvaḥ* 'Becoming strong by means of billets of wood, he has supported the heaven'.

The spreading of the earth has been mentioned in 10, 62, 3 explained above and has been ascribed to the Aṅgirasas; in 4, 50, 1, explained above, Bṛhaspati is said to have supported the ends of the earth; and similarly, in 1, 62, 2-7, likewise explained above, Indra and the Aṅgirasas are said to have extended the earth and supported the upper world of heaven, and, further, Ayāsyā (i. e., Bṛhaspati) is also said to have supported the two worlds. This last-mentioned passage refers to the shattering of the mountain stronghold of Vala, the freeing of the rivers and the cows, and the winning of the Dawns and the sun, and mentions Saramā also; and it hence becomes clear (1) that the extending and supporting of the two worlds forms part of the feats connected with, and following, the shattering of Vala's fortress, and (2) that the Aṅgirasas, Indra, Bṛhaspati and Saramā were all associated together in these feats, and that they performed them by using spells of truth.

Now, Agni too is said to be the first Aṅgiras in 1, 31, 1: *tvām agne prathamō aṅgirā ṛṣiḥ* 'Thou, O Agni, art the first seer Aṅgiras (i. e., the best of the seers known as Aṅgirasas)'; he is called *aṅgiras* in about twenty passages (see Grassmann, s. v. *aṅgiras*), and the epithet *aṅgirastama* is applied to him in 1, 31, 2: *tvām agne prathamō aṅgirastamaḥ* 'Thou, O Agni, art the best of those known as aṅgirastama (chief of the Aṅgirasas)', in 1, 75, 2: *athā te aṅgirastamāgne vedhastana priyam| vocema brahma sānasi* 'We shall now utter, O Agni best of the Aṅgirasas and of wise men, a spell dear to thee, that will win wealth', and in four other passages (see Grassmann, s. v. *aṅgirastama*). Accompanied by Indra, he is said to have fought and won the cows, Waters, etc., in 6, 60, 2: *tā yodhiṣṭam abhi gāindra nūnam apāḥ svar uśaso agna ūlhāḥ| diśaḥ svar uśasa indra citrā apo gā agne yuvase niyutvān* 'O Indra and Agni, ye two have fought for the cows, Waters, sun, and Dawns that had been carried (away); O Indra, thou givest the directions (i. e., thou dispellest the darkness), the sun, the beautiful Dawns, the waters and cows, O Agni that drivest

with a team'. He is said to have shattered forts in 7, 5, 3: *vaiśvānara pūrave śośucānaḥ puro yad agne darayann adīdeḥ* 'O Agni Vaiśvānara, when thou didst shine, brilliant, shattering the forts for the sacrificer' and 1, 59, 6: *prā nū mahitvām vṛṣabhāsyā vocaṃ yaṃ pūravo vṛtrahānaṃ sacante| vaiśvānaro dasyum agnir jaghanvān adhūnot kāṣṭhā ava śambaram bhet* 'I have praised now the greatness of the strong (Agni), the destroyer of Vṛtra whom the sacrificers follow. Agni Vaiśvānara, destroying the demon, shook the wooden palings (of the fort) and pierced into (the fortress of) Śambara'; and he is called *puramdara* in 6, 16, 14: *tām u tvā dadhyaññ ṛṣiḥ putra idhe atharvānaḥ|vṛtrahānaṃ puramdaram* 'The seer Dadhyañ, son of Atharvan, has kindled thee (Agni), shatterer of forts and destroyer of Vṛtra', and other verses. He is said to have vanquished the Paṇis and released the Dawns in 7, 6, 3-4: *ny ākratūn grathino mṛdhravācaḥ pañinr āsraddhān avṛdhān ayajñān prapra tān dasyūnr agnir vivāya pūrvaś cakārāparān ayajyūn|| yo apācine tāmasi madantiḥ prācīś cakāra nṛtamaḥ śacībhiḥ| tam īśānaṃ vasvo agniṃ grñiṣe'nānataṃ damayantam pṛtanyūn* "Agni has driven forth the Paṇis who are without sense, crooked, evil-speaking, without faith, without prayers, without sacrifices; being the first, he has made last the unsacrificing demons. I praise Agni, lord of wealth, unvanquished, the vanquisher of enemies, the best of heroes, who, by means of spells, made the (Dawns) that, with faces turned away, were revelling in the darkness, turn towards (the direction of the sacrificers)"; and he is praised for making the sun ascend the sky in 10, 156, 4: *agne nakṣatram ajāram ā sūryaṃ rohaya divi| dadhaj jyotir janebhyah* "O Agni, giving light to men, thou hast made the unaging star, the sun, mount, the sky" and 7, 9, 2: *sa sukratur yo vi dūraḥ pañināṃ punāno arkam purubhojasam naḥ* 'he (Agni) of great insight, who, opening the doors (of the stronghold) of the Paṇis, brought into view clearly the sun, that provides us with many enjoyments'.

All these statements show clearly that, like Indra and Bṛhaspati, Agni too was one of the Aṅgirasas, and was associated with them when, by means of spells of truth, they vanqui-

shed the Paṇis, shattered their mountain-fort, and released the cows, Dawns, sun, etc. The two verses explained above state explicitly that it was by means of spells of truth that Agni extended and supported heaven and earth.

I am now at the end of my material, and we can now review the results of the above investigation:

(1) The number of RV passages that have been cited above and that contain references to acts of truth is fifty-four.

(2) The word *ṛta* is used in twenty-one of these passages nos. 1, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 48, 49, 52 and 54), the word *satya* in fifteen¹ (nos. 2, 5, 13, 20, 24, 30, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 51 and 53), and the word *satīna* in one (no. 40). In nineteen passages (nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 45 and 50), there is used no word signifying 'truth', but only words signifying 'hymn' (*arka*, *uktha*, *kāvya*, *śacī*, *dhī*, *dhīti*, *brahman*, *manas*, *manyu*, *vacas*, *stubh*) or 'roar' (*rava*, *virava*, *svara*; *arcan*, *kanikradat*, *grṇāna*, *dīdhyaṇa*, *navanta*, *vāvaśāna*).

(3) The words used to denote 'spell of truth' are *ṛta*, *satya*, and in addition, *ṛtajātā gīh* (10, 138, 1), *ṛtadhīti* (6, 39, 2; 10, 47, 6), *satīnamanyu* (10, 112, 8), *satyamantra* (1, 20, 4 and 1, 67, 5; 7, 76, 4), and *satyamanyu* (2, 24, 14).

(4) the verb *kr* 'to do, to make' is used with *satya* in two passages, namely, in 5, 45, 7 and 4, 17, 10 (and also in AV. 4, 18, 1); and verbs meaning 'to speak, to utter' are used with *ṛta* in the following six passages: 1, 161, 9 (*vadantaḥ*), 4, 33, 6 (*ūcuḥ*), 10, 138, 1 (*manvānāḥ*), 10, 67, 2 (*śamsantaḥ*), and 4, 1, 13; 4, 2, 14 and 16 (*āśuṣāṇāḥ*). The expressions *ṛtasya pravācanam* and *satyokti* are used in 10, 35, 7 and 10, 37, 2 respectively.

(5) *satya* signifies 'act of truth' in five passages (5, 45, 7; 10, 47, 4; 3, 39, 5; 4, 22, 6; 4, 28, 5), and denotes 'utterer of spells of truth' in 10, 67, 5 and 7, 75, 7.

(6) The actual wording of the spell of truth is given in three passages only, namely, in 1, 161, 9; 10, 35, 7 and 10, 37, 2 (and also in AV. 4, 18, 1). In the remaining passages there is merely a reference to spells of truth, and the spell itself is not given. In connection with such passages, one should compare

1. It will be noted that two passages (nos. 20, 49) contain both words, *satya* and *ṛta*.

the following observation of BURLINGAME on p. 464 l. c.: "By Acts of Truth, the terms of which the story-teller does not take the trouble to give, a prince cuts gems in two, a boy catches wild buffaloes, and an ascetic creates a child out of a flower (PARKER, *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 140; Vol. II, pp. 28-9, 37)."

(7) Two out of the fifty-four passages (viz. 10, 35, 7; 10, 37, 2) refer to the employment of spells of truth for the purpose of protection (this is the case with AV. 4, 18, 1 also). The other fifty-two passages refer to the employment of such spells for the purpose of working miracles. The miracles referred to in nos. 1-10 are the rejuvenation of parents, quadruplication of a drinking cup, making of a self-moving chariot, etc.; those referred to in nos. 11-50; 53, 54 are the shattering of the mountain, freeing the cows and Waters, etc.

It is necessary to add that there are references to spells of truth in some of the other ṚV verses also. For instance, in 1, 142, 2: *etac cana tvo vi ciketad eṣām satyo mantrah kavīṣasta ṛghāvān| triraśrīm hanti caturaśrir ugrā devanido ha prathamā ajūryan*, there is no doubt that *satyo mantrah* signifies 'spell of truth' though the meaning of the verse as a whole is obscure. Similarly, there is no doubt that a correct understanding of the other ṚV verses in which the word *ṛta* occurs will show that there is a reference to spells of truth in some of them. It is moreover very probable that, besides the passages cited above, there are in the ṚV other passages in which Indra or the Aṅgirasas are represented as shattering the mountain and freeing the cows and Waters, etc., by means of 'spells', that is, of spells of truth.

Finally, it must also be observed that the use of spells of truth is not confined to the two purposes mentioned above, namely, for the working of miracles and for ensuring protection: such spells are used (see the examples given by BURLINGAME on p. 464 l.c. and by E. Washburn HOPKINS in *JAOS.* 42, 318 ff.) for *śapatha* also, that is for cursing others, and for taking oaths (for Vedic examples, see OLDENBERG, *Religion d. Veda*, p. 416 ff.).

The name *sacca-kiriyā* however is not usually applied to acts of *śapatha*; and hence, such spells of truth do not come within the scope of this article.

SECTION II.

The root śvas, śuṣ.

The verb *śvas* is used in the RV in two stanzas (1, 65, 9; 6, 48, 29) and its participles (*śvasat*, *śāśvasat*) in six, while the verb *śuṣ* (which is another form of *śvas*) and its participles are used in about nine stanzas.

The author of the Vedic Nighaṇṭu includes *śvasiti* in the list of verbs that signify 'to kill' (vadha-karmāṇi; 2, 19) while the Dhātupāṭha explains its meaning as *prāṇana*. Sāyaṇa, in his RV-commentary, makes use of the latter meaning only in his explanation of the verb *śvasiti* (1, 65, 9) and the participles *śvasat* and *śāśvasat*; but the verb *upaśvāsaya* (in 6, 48, 29) is explained by him as *jaya-ghoṣeṇa āśvāsaya*; *yathā loka-dvayaṃ tvadīyena śabdena āpūritam bhavati tādr̥ṣam śabdam kuru*. As for the verb *śuṣ* and its participles, which, with the exception of *śuṣantam* in 1, 60, 10, occur always in combination with the prefix *ā* in the RV, he regards *śuṣantam* in 1, 60, 10 as a participle of the root *śuṣ* 'to dry' (*śuṣa śoṣaṇe*) and the words *āśuṣe* and *āśuṣāṇasaḥ* as formed from the root *ās* 'to pervade (*āsū yāptau*)'; he has, in addition, explained *āśuṣāṇa* as (1) *āśu-śabdopapadāt sanateḥ karmaṇi aṇ¹*; *āśu śīghram sambhaktāraḥ āśūn sambhaktāro vā* and (2) *samantāt śoṣayitāraḥ* in his explanation of 1, 147, 1. Venkaṭa-mādhava, in his commentary on 1, 30, 16 explains *śāśvasadbhiḥ* as *atyantam śvasadbhiḥ*; and Skandasvāmin too similarly explains that word as *atyartham punaḥ-punar vā śvāsam kurvadbhiḥ* and *śvasiti* in 1, 65, 9 as *śvasana-sadr̥ṣam śabdam karoti*. Uvaṭa, in his commentary on VS. 29, 55 (=RV. 6, 48, 29), explains *upaśvāsaya* as *upa-śabdaya*, and Mahīdhara as *upaśvāsaya upaśabdaya*, *śvasiḥ śabdārthaḥ*.

In the PW, Böhtlingk and Roth assign to *śvas* and *śuṣ* the meanings of *blasen, zischen, sausen, schnaufen, atmen, seufzen, aufseufzen*. The same meanings, or similar ones, are given to it by Grassmann also in his *Wörterbuch*; but *ā+śuṣ* is explained by him not only as *schnaufen, anfachen*, but also in *Thätigkeit setzen, anregen, erregen*. Similarly, GELDNER too

1. This explanation is repeated by him in his commentary on 5, 36, 4 and 7. 93. 8. also.

in his *RV. Gloss*, explains *śvas* as *schnaufen*, *fauchen*, *upa+śvāsay* as *ächzen machen*, *stöhnen machen*, *drohnen machen*, and *ā+śuṣ* as (1) *antreiben*, *aneifern*, *anspornen zu* (8, 93, 16) (2) *sich anfeuern*, *sich bemühen*, *sich anstrengen* (5, 36, 4; 1, 147, 1; 2, 19, 7) (3) *betreiben*, *beschleunigen*. *sich beeilen mit* (7, 93, 8; 4, 1, 13; 2, 14, 16).

One of the passages cited in the PW in the article on *śvas* is Bhaṭṭikāvya 15, 23: *śapakṣo 'drir ivācālīn nyaśvasīt kalpa-vāyuvat| abhārṣid dyvaninā lokān abhrājiṣṭa kṣayāgnivat* which describes the sallying out of Kumbhakarna to fight against Rāma; and *ni+śvas* here signifies, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, 'zwischen, schnaufen'. The wind, however, at the time of the destruction of the universe, does not merely 'blow', but blows making a loud sound; compare the epithets *pracaṇḍa*, *ghora*, *bhīma*, and particularly, *caṇḍa-śabdaṃ samudīrayantam* that are applied to the wind in the following passages that describe the destruction of the universe:

Matsyapurāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.) 166, 4:

vāyuś ca balavān bhūtvā vidhunvāno 'khilaṃ jagat|
prāṇāpāna-samānādyān vāyūn ākarṣate Hariḥ||

Bhāgavata, XII, 4, 11-12:

tataḥ pracaṇḍa-pavano varṣāṇām adhikaṃ śatam|
paraḥ sāmavartako vāti ||

Ibid. XII, 9, 10-11:

brahman vāyur abhūn mahān|
taṃ caṇḍa-śabdaṃ samudīrayantaṃ
valāhakā anvabhavan karālāḥ||

Brahma-purāṇa 50, 11-13:=[MBh. III, 191, 85]:

tatas taṃ mārutaṃ ghoram |
ādiḥ padmālayo devaḥ pītvā svapiti bhārata||

MBh. XII, 317, 10-11:

bhakṣayāmāsa bhagavān vāyur aṣṭātmako bali|
vicarann amita-prāṇas tiryag ūrdhvaṃ adhas tathā||
taṃ apratibalaṃ bhīmam ākāśaṃ grasate punaḥ|

And thus there can be no doubt that the meaning which the author of the above stanza intended to convey is: "He moved, (shaking the earth) like a winged mountain; he roared (as loudly) as the wind at the time of the destruction of the universe; he

filled the worlds with his shout; he blazed like the fire destroying the universe". Compare in this connection the stanzas

*sa laṅghayitvā prākāraṃ giri-kūṭopamo mahān|
niryayau nagarāt tūrṇaṃ kumbhakarṇo mahābalaḥ||
nanāda ca mahā-nādaṃ samudram abhinādayan|
vijayanniva nirghātān vidhamanniva parvatān||*

that have been written by Vālmīki when describing the same event (Rāmāyaṇa, VI, 66, 1-2).

In other words, there can be no doubt that the verb *śvas* signifies 'to make a loud sound' in the above stanza, as it does in the following passages also:

Rāmāyaṇa, II, 101, 15:

*taṃ mattam iva mātāṅgaṃ niśśvasantaṃ punaḥ-punaḥ|
bhrātaraṃ Bharataṃ Rāmaḥ pariśvajyedam abravīt||*

"Rāma embraced his brother Bharata who was roaring loudly, again and again, like a wild elephant, and said to him".

Ibid. III, 65, 1-2: *tapyamānaṃ tadā Rāmaṃ Sītā-haraṇa-karśitaṃ|*

*lokānām abhave yuktaṃ sām̐vartakam
ivānalam||*

*vikṣamāṇaṃ dhanuḥ sajyaṃ niśśvasantaṃ
punaḥ-punaḥ|*

*dagdhu-kāmaṃ jagat sarvam yugānte
ca yathā Haraṃ||*

"Rāma, who was suffering and grieving on account of the abduction of Sītā, who, like the wind at the time of the destruction of the universe, was engaged in destroying the worlds, who, looking at his corded bow, was making a loud cry again and again, who, like Hara at the end of the cycle, was desirous of reducing the whole world to ashes".

Ibid. V, 5, 14: *mahā-gajaiś cāpi tathā nadadbhiḥ*

supūjitaiś cāpi tathā susadbhiḥ|

raṛāja vīraiś ca viniśśvasadbhir

hradā bhujaṅgair iva niśvasadbhiḥ||

"[The city of Laṅkā] was resplendent with huge elephants that were roaring, with good men who were honoured, and with valiant soldiers who were crying loudly, as deep pools are with serpents making shrill sounds."

Ibid. VI, 53, 1-2: *Dhūmrākṣaṃ nihataṃ śrutvā Rāvaṇo
rākṣaseśvaraḥ|*

krodhena mahatāviṣṭo niśśvasann
urago yathā||
dīrgham uṣṇam viniśvasya krodhena
kaluṣīkṛtaḥ|

“Rāvaṇa, king of the *rākṣasas*, hearing that Dhūmrākṣa was killed, overcome with anger, making a shrill sound like a serpent, heaving long and hot breaths, excited by anger”.

Ibid. VI, 60, 28: *ūrdhva-lomāñcita-tanum śvasantam iva pañnagam|*

“In whose body the hair was standing upright, who was making a shrill sound like a serpent.”

Ibid. VI, 93, 1: *sa praviśya sabhām rājā dinaḥ parama-duḥkhitah|*
niṣasādāsane mukhye simhaḥ kruddha iva śvasan||

“That king, in dejection and great distress, entered the council-chamber and sat on the chief seat, roaring like an angry lion”.

Ibid. VI, 70, 87: *Aṅgadasya vacaḥ śrutvā pracukrodha Narāntakaḥ|*
sandaśya daśanair oṣṭham niśśvasya ca bhujaṅgavat||

“Hearing the words of Aṅgada, Narāntaka became angry, biting his lips with his teeth, and making a shrill sound like a serpent”.

Ibid. VI, 108, 10:

[śaram] sarva-vitrāsanam bhīmam śvasantam iva pañnagam|

“[An arrow], terrible, inducing fear in all, and making a shrill sound like a serpent” likewise *ibid.* VI, 108, 3: *jagrāhasa śaram dīptam niśśvasantam ivoragam* and Mahābhārata VIII, 51, 27: *sa pañcadaśa nārācān śvasataḥ pañnagān iva| jighāmsur bharataśreṣṭham Dhr̥ṣṭadyumno vyapāsṛjat*. Compare with them *ibid.* VII, 117, 5: *tato 'sya bāṇān aparān indrāśani-sama-svanān| Bhāradvājo 'ntara-prekṣi preṣayāmāsa saṃyuge* and 131, 46: *te śarāḥ preṣitās tena Bhīmasenena saṃyuge| nipetuḥ sarvato vīra kūjanta iva pakṣiṇaḥ* which employ the terms *kūjanta iva pakṣiṇaḥ* and *indrāśani-sama-svanān* to denote the sound made by the flying arrows.

Compare also the following passages of the Mahābhārata:
VI, 106, 67-68:

Pārthas tu viṣṭabhya balāc caraṇau para-vīrahā|
nijagrāha Hṛṣīkeśaṁ kathaṁ cid daśame pade||
tata evam uvācārtaḥ krodha-paryākulekṣaṇam|
niśśvasantaṁ yathā nāgam Arjunaḥ praṇayāt sakhā||

VII, 15, 25:

te gade gadinām śreṣṭhe samāsādya parasparam|
śvasantyaū nāga-kanyeva saṣṛjāte vibhāvasum||

(Compare with this the passage, *śuśruve dikṣu sarvāsu tayoh puruṣa-simhayoh| gadābhigāta-saṁhrādaḥ śakrāśani-ravopamaḥ* occurring in the third verse following:)|

VII, 87, 1-3:

tasyām niśāyām vyuṣṭāyām Droṇaḥ sastra-bhṛtām
varaḥ|
svāny anikāṇi sarvāṇi prākṛāmad vyūhitum tataḥ||
śūrāṇām garjatām rājan saṁkruddhānām amarṣiṇām|
śrūvante sma giraś citrāḥ paraspara-vadhaiṣiṇām||
viṣphārya ca dhanūṁśy anye jyāḥ pare parimṛjya ca|
viniśvasantaḥ prākrośan kvedānīm sa Dhanamjayah||

VII, 98, 3-4:

saṁprasruta-krodha-viṣo vyādītāsya-śarāśanaḥ|
tīkṣṇa-dhāreṣu-daśanaḥ sita-nārāca-damṣṭravān||
saṁrambhāmarṣa-tāmrākṣo mahoraga iva śvasan|
nara-vīraḥ pramuditaḥ śoṇair aśvair mahā-javaiḥ||

VII, 99, 50-51:

tatra tatra maheṣvāsaiḥ śvasadbhiḥ śoṇitokṣitaiḥ|
hayair nāgaiś ca saṁbhinnair nadadbhiś cārikarśana||
saṁrabdhaiś cāribhir vīraiḥ prārthayadbhir jayaṁ
mṛdhe|
ekasthair bahubhiḥ kruddhair ūśmeva samajāyata||

VII, 127, 61:

atha Bhīmas tu tac chrutvā guror vākyaṁ aśeṣataḥ|
kruddhaḥ provāca vai Droṇaṁ rakta-tāmrakṣaṇaḥ
śvasan||

VII, 259, 2-4:

ayaṁ sa kālāḥ saṁprāpto mitrāṇām mitra-vatsala|
trāyasva samare Karṇa sarvān yodhān mahā-rathān||
Pāñcālair Matsya-Kaikeyaiḥ Pāṇḍavaiś ca mahā-
rathaiḥ|

vṛtāḥ samantāt saṃkruddhair niśśvasadbhir ivoragaiḥ|
ete nadanti saṃhṛṣṭāḥ Pāṇḍavā jita-kāśinah|
śakropamās ca bahavah Pāñcālānāṃ ratha-vrajāḥ||

Ibid. VII, 204, 44ff.:

tatas cakṛṣatur Bhīmaṃ sarva-śāstrāyudhāni ca|
Nārāyaṇāstra-śāntya-arthaṃ Nara-Nārāyaṇau balāt||
ākṛṣyamāṇah Kaunteyo nadaty eva maha-ravaṃ|
vardhate caiva tad ghoram Drauṇer astram sudur-
jayam||
tam abravīd Vāsudevah kim idaṃ Pāṇḍu-nandana|
vāryamāṇo'pi Kaunteya yad yuddhān na nivartase||
yadi yuddhena jeyāḥ syur ime Kaurava-nandanāḥ|
vayam apy atra yuddhena tathā ceme naraṣabhāḥ||
rathebhyaḥ tv avatīrṇāḥ sma sarva eva hi tāvakāḥ|
tasmāt tvam api Kaunteya rathāt tūrṇam apākrama||
evam uktvā tataḥ Kṛṣṇo rathād bhūmim avartayat|
niśśvasantaṃ yathā nāgaṃ krodha-saṃrakta-locanam||
yadā 'pakṛṣṭah sa rathān nyāsitaś cāyudhaṃ yudhi|
tato Nārāyaṇāstraṃ tat praśāntaṃ śatru-tāpanam||

The root *śvas* signifies 'to make a loud (or shrill) sound' in these passages. In VI, 106, 68, *niśśvasantaṃ yathā nāgaṃ* = roaring like an elephant; in VII, 87, 3, *vinīśśvasantaḥ prākrośan* means 'making a loud sound, they cried out; they cried out loudly', and *vinīśśvasantaḥ* is synonymous with *garjatām* in the preceding verse and with *simha-nādaṃ cakruḥ* used frequently elsewhere on similar occasions. Similarly, in VII, 201, 19, *niśśvasantaṃ yathā nāgaṃ* signifies 'roaring loudly like an elephant'; compare the expression *nadaty eva mahāravam* in V. 15 preceding.

It should be noted that the meanings *blasen, zischen, sausen, schnaufen, atmen, seufzen, aufseufzen*, etc., given in the PW and Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* for *śvas* are wholly inappropriate in expressions like *mattam iva mātāṅgaṃ niśśvasantaṃ* and *simhaḥ kruddha ivaśvasan*, and that the only meaning that fits the word there is 'to make a loud sound; to shout; to roar'. This is the signification of *śvas* in almost all the RV passages also where it occurs, as I shall now show.

(1) 1, 65, 9: śvasity apsu haṃso na śīdan
kratvā cetiṣṭho viśāṃ uṣarbhut||

"He [Agni] makes a loud sound, like a swan about to sit in water; most distinguished by insight, he wakes at dawn among the people".

Pāda a seems to be a continuation of the preceding verse, *yad vātajūto vanā vy āsthād agnir ha dāti romā pṛthivyāḥ*, and the meaning of the three pādas is, "When, impelled by the wind, Agni has spread through the forests, he shears the hair (i.e., the vegetation) of the earth, making a loud sound like a swan about to sit in water". Compare 10, 45, 4: *akrandad agniḥ stanayann iva dyauḥ kṣāmā rerihaḍ vīrudhaḥ samañjan* 'Licking the earth again and again, consuming the plants, Agni made a loud sound like the thundering sky'; 1, 94, 10: *yad ayukthā aruṣā rohiā rāthe vātajūtā vṛṣabhasyeva te ravaḥ | ād invasi vanina dhūmaketunāgne sakhye mā risāmā vayaṁ tava* 'When thou hast yoked to the chariot the two bright red horses, the roar is like that of a bull; thou then movest to the trees with thy smoke-bannered (chariot); may we not, in thy friendship, O Agni, suffer any injury'; 1, 58, 2: *ā svam ādma yuvamāno ajaras tṛṣv avisayann ataseṣu tiṣṭhati | atyo na pṛṣṭham pṛuṣitāsyā rocate divo na sammu stanayann acikradat* 'Grasping his food, he (Agni), the unaging, spreads among the brushwood greedily consuming; the back of the burning one shines like that of a horse; he roared like the ridge of heaven'; 1, 58, 4: *vi vātajūto ataseṣu tiṣṭhaie vṛthā juhūbhiḥ sṛnyā tuvisvaṇiḥ* 'Driven by the wind and roaring loudly, he (Agni), spreads impetuously among the brushwood with his sickle-like tongues'. In these verses, the loud sound made by Agni when consuming the vegetation is compared to the roaring of a bull or to thunder, while, in 1, 65, 9, it is compared to the loud cry of a swan. This latter forms the *upamāna* in 3, 53, 10: *haṁsā iva kṛṇutha ślokaṁ adribhiḥ* 'Like swans, ye make a loud sound with stones', and 10, 67, 3: *haṁsair iva sakhibhir aśmanmayāni nahanā vyasyan* 'Loosening the bonds of stone in the company of friends who were making a loud sound like swans'. Compare also 10, 68, 1: *udapruto na vayo rakṣamāṇā vāvadato*

abhriyasyeva ghosāḥ 'making loud sound like . . . aquatic birds resonant like the sounds produced by clouds'.

Pāda a has been translated as 'he hisses like a swan' by Geldner (*RV. Über.*), Oldenberg (*SBE.* 46, p. 54), Grassmann (*RV. Über.*) and Ludwig. This rendering however seems to me to be quite untenable. In the first place, the sound made by a swan is not a 'hiss' at all; it is a sort of cackle (see Apte's Dictionary f. v. *haṃsa-nāda*) or squawk and is denoted in classical Sanskrit literature by words like *jalpita* (cp. *Harsacarita*, Nirṇayasagara ed., p. 81-12, 13: *viralī-bhavati varāṇaṃ veśanta-śayinīnaṃ mañjuni mañjira-śifñjita-jade jalpita*). *nāda* (cp. *Naisadhīyacarita* 1, 117: *riraṃsu-haṃsī-kala-nada-sadaram*; *Bhaṭṭikāvya* 2, 7: *akaraṇayann utsuka-haṃsa-nadan*), *ruta* (cp. *Kirātārjunīya* 4, 30: *sita-cchadanam apadiśya dhavatam rutai* (v.l. *ravai*) *ramīśaṃ grathitah patatrinam*), *kūjita* (cp. *ibid.* 4, 1: *tataḥ sa kūjat-kala-haṃsa-mekhalam*; *Subhāsitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, 1911 ed., p. 350, v. 33: *tanurhaṇi puro vijitadhvaner dhavala-paksa-vhiaṅgama-kūjitaiḥ* | *jagalur aksamayeve śikhaṇḍinaḥ*) and *krenkāra* (cp. Hemacandra's scholium on his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, p. 12: *helandolita-haṃsa-sarasa-kula-krenkāra-saṃmūrchitaiḥ*) all which words denote loud sounds. In the *RV* itself, the sound of the swan is referred to by the words *ślokaṃ kṛ* and *vāvad* in the two verses cited above. The only other reference in it to the sound of the swan is, according to Grassmann (*Worter.*) in 4, 45, 4: *hamsāso ye vām madhumanto asridho hiranyatarnā uhuva usarbudhaḥ* where the epithet *uhuvaḥ* is interpreted by him as 'making a loud cry (*schreiend*)'. Compare also Macdonell's observation, 'These birds are described as dark in colour in the back; they fly in troops, swim in the water, make loud noises, and are wakeful at night' in *Vedic Index*, Vol. 2, s.v. *hamsa*.

Secondly, the sound made by Agni too is referred to in the *RV* by words like *kṛand*, *nad*, *stan*, all signifying 'to make a loud sound to roar'. This sound is also, in the passages cited above and in many others (e.g. 5, 25, 8: *uto te tanyatur yathā svāno artha tmanā divaḥ*; 7, 3, 10: *divo na te tanyatur eti śusmaḥ*; 3, 2, 11: *ṛṣā citresu nānadan na simhaḥ*), compared to the roaring of a bull, a lion or thunder; and hence

there can be no doubt that, as in the passages cited above from the Ram and MBh, so in 1, 65, 9 too, *śvas* signifies 'to make a loud sound' and not 'to hiss'.

(2) 6, 47, 29: *upa śvasaya pṛthivīm uta dyaṁ*
puruṭra te manuṭaṁ viṣṭhitaṁ jagat|
sa dundubhe sajur indreṇa devair
dūrad dāvīyo apa sedha śatrūn||

"Make the earth and heaven resound, let the extended world praise thee in many ways. With Indra and the gods, O drum, derive the enemies further and further".

All interpreters, including Sayana and Uvaṭa, are agreed that *upavāsaya* in this verse is equivalent to *upaśabdaya*, *śabdena āpūraya*. Compare also the words *ākrandaya*, *niṣṭānihi* and *apaprotha* in the next verse: *ā krandaya balaṁ ojo na ā*
dhā niḥ ṣṭānihi duritā bādhamānaḥ apa protha dundubhe
ducchunā ita indrasya mustir asi vīlayasva "Make a loud sound, O drum and confer on us strength and vigour! peals driving away difficulties, blare away evil-disposed person, from here. Thou art the first of Indra, show thyself strong".

THE CONCEPT OF KEYNOTE IN THE TAITTIRIYA PRĀTISĀKHYA

BY

C. R. SANKARAN,

Poona.

(Continued from page 241, Vol. XIV)

दीप्तायता करुणानां मृदुमध्यमयोस्तथा ॥

श्रुतीनां योऽविशेषज्ञो न स अचार्य उच्यते ॥

दीप्तामन्द्रे द्वितीये च प्रचतुर्थे तथैव तु ॥

अतिस्वारे तृतीये च क्रुष्टे तु करुणाश्रुतिः ॥

श्रुतयोऽन्या द्वितीयस्य मृदुमध्यायताः स्मृताः ॥

(Nār. Śikṣā i, vii, Verses 8, 9 and 10)

The commentary says :—

प्रथमस्य मृदुभूता, सप्तमस्य करुणा ॥

The following is a table showing the distribution of svaras to various Śrutis according to the verses quoted above and the commentary.

TABLE 1.

सामस्वर	लौकिकस्वर	श्रुति
क्रुष्ट	प	करुणा
प्रथम	म	मृदु
द्वितीय	ग	दीप्ता, आयता, मृदु, मध्या under different condi- tions
तृतीय	रि	दीप्ता
चतुर्थ	स	दीप्ता
मन्द्र	ध	दीप्ता
अतिस्वार्य	नि	दीप्ता

As a result of the gradual decrease of one Śruti of the Madhyamagrāma vīṇā of Bharata which is called Dhruva vīṇā by Matanga, we get the following result that no Śruti is gained, i.e., no two notes coincide with each other as the Table No. 2 shows. Table No. 3 shows the fixation of Śrutis and notes in Madhyamagrāma vīṇa.

TABLE NO. 2

S. Number of Śrutis.	षड्जग्रामवीणा	मध्यमग्रामवीणा
1.		
2.		
3.		
4. C	स	
5.		स
6.		
7. D	रि	
8.		रि
9. E	ग	
10.		ग
11.		
12.		
13. F	म	
14.		म
15.		
16.		
17. G	प	
18.		प
19.		
20. A	ध	
21.		ध
22. B	नि	
1.		नि
2.		
3.		
4.		

TABLE NO. 3

1. Dīptā	Tivṛā	नि
2. Āyatā	Kumudvatī	
3. Mṛdu	Mandā	
4. Madhyā	Chandovatī	
5. Karuṇā	Dayāvati	स
6. Madhyā	Rañjanī	
7. Mṛdu	Raktikā	
8. Dīptā	Raudrī	रि
9. Āyatā	Krodhā	
10. Dīptā	Vajrikā	ग
11. Āyatā	Prasārini	
12. Mṛdu	Prīti	
13. Madhyā	Mārjanī	
14. Mṛdu	Kṣiti	म
15. Madhyā	Raktā	
16. Āyatā	Samdipanī	
17. Karuṇā	Ālāpinī	
18. Karuṇā	Madantī	प
19. Āyatā	Rohini	
20. Madhyā	Ramyā	
21. Dīptā	Ugrā	ध
22. Madhyā	Kṣobhini	
1. Dīptā	Tivṛā	नि

The distribution of Svaras according to Table No. 3 is in agreement with that in Table No. 1 but for the fact that the Śruti assigned for Ṣaḍja according to Table No. 1 is दीप्ता while according to Table No. 3 is करुणा.

गान्धार can be assigned to Āyatā, Mṛdu and Madhyā (Śrutis 11, 12 and 13) too (of course under different conditions), according to Table No. 1. If we designate now Niṣāda in Table No. 3 as Ṣaḍja and correspondingly change the nomenclature of the subsequent notes in order, then we get the following results.

TABLE NO. 4

		Svaras of Table No. 3	Converted Svaras
1. Dīptā	तीव्रा	नि	स
2. Āyatā	कुमुद्वती		
3. Mṛdu	मंदा		
4. Madhyā	छंदोवती		
5. Karuṇā	दयावती	स	रि
6. Madhyā	रंजनी		
7. Mṛdu	रक्तिका		
8. Dīptā	रौद्री	रि	ग
9. Āyatā	क्रोधा		
10. Dīptā	वज्रिका	ग	म
11. Āyatā	प्रसारिणी		
12. Mṛdu	प्रीति		
13. Madhyā	मार्जनी		
14. Mṛdu	क्षिति	म	प
15. Madhyā	रक्ता		
16. Āyatā	संदीपिनी		
17. Karuṇā	आलपिनी		
18. Karuṇā	मदंती	प	ध
19. Āyatā	रोहिणी		
20. Madhyā	रम्या		
21. Dīptā	उग्रा	ध	नि
22. Madhyā	क्षोभिणी		
1. Dīptā	तीव्रा	नि	स
2. Āyatā	कुमुद्वती		

- | | |
|-----------|---------|
| 3. Mr̥du | मंदा |
| 4. Madhyā | छंदेवती |

[Tables 2 and 3 are reproductions of Supplements 1 and 2 from Mr. M. R. Telang's "The 22 Śrutis of Indian Music—A complete exposition—Being a lecture delivered before the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, on 22nd April 1931. Poona 1933" pages 22-23]

Column 4 of Table No. 4 agrees with the fixation of notes to the proper Śrutis in the Kāfi Rāga of Hindustini music¹.

According to Venkaṭa Makhin, the following is the distribution of *Svaras* to *Śrutis* for our Rāga, Kharaharapriyā (the 22nd Mela) which he calls श्रीराग²—[the nearest approach to Sāman scale. See below.]

TABLE NO. 5

1.		12.	म
2.		13.	
3.	स	14.	
4.		15.	
5.		16.	प
6.		17.	
7.		18.	
8.	रि	19.	
9.	ग	20.	
10.		21.	ध
11.		22.	नि

1. Vide हिंदुस्थानी संगीतपद्धति क्रमिकपुस्तकमालिका चौथें पुस्तक संपादक पं. दत्तात्रेय केशव जोशी

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2. Vide अनुबन्धः Verse 6 page 1. Caturdaṇḍi Prakāśika of Venkaṭa Makhin—Madras Music Academy Series No. 3.

Cf. तिस्रः षड्जेऽथरिषभे पञ्चमे त्वेकिकैवमे ।

तिस्रः पे तु चतस्रः स्युः धे पञ्चैकैव नौस्मृताः ॥

Vide ibid मेलप्रकरणम् Verse 134 पृ. ४७ (page 47)

Here the assignment of the eighth Śruti to Rṣabha and the twenty first Śruti to Dhaivata is in agreement with what we find in column 3 of Table No 4. Doubtless we may be sure that in the Sāman scale this was the original distribution of Śrutis to these notes Rṣabha and Dhaivata which were the keynotes. (See below).

Just as at one time in the early history of Vedic music, when only three notes were known, there was occasionally a leap to reach the fourth, even so at a later stage of Vedic music when six notes were only known there should have been now and then a leap to touch the seventh the अतिस्वार्य (our निषाद) which was undoubtedly an 'extra-note'¹

Prior to the emergence of निषादस्वर as a distinct and separate note in the Sāman scale, it was perhaps contained within the embryo of मन्द्र (our धैवत). One could appreciate the tenability of this guess if one bears in mind that the nearest approach to Sāman scale is our Rāga Kharaharapriyā²

It can be clearly seen that in the चतुः श्रुतिः धैवत of that Rāga, कैशिकिनिषाद (b flat) is merged and it cannot escape one's observation that we pass through this निषाद to reach the said धैवत. ³It is not unlikely that at a later stage this निषादस्वर was

1. Cf. Fox Strangways. Music of Hindostan page, 260.

2. According to M. Seshagiri Śāstri (Descriptive Catalogue Vol. I Vedic Literature, First part, pages 76-78. (Sāman scale corresponds to the Rāga Ābhogī, which is but a *janya* (a derivative) of the parent *Kharaharapriyā*. It is to be remembered that the Rāga Ābhogī is निषादवर्ज and also पञ्चमवर्ज and in the Sāma Veda chant, the sixth note निषाद and the seventh (कुष्ठ=पञ्चम) occur very rarely; hence it is that M. Seshagiri Śāstri says that the melody of the Sāma Veda which is uniform, may be identified with the Rāga, called Ābhogī, which itself is a derivative Rāga referred to the original Kharaharapriyā and whose notes are स रि ग म प स.

Swami Vipulānanda of Ceylon, in his lecture on "A Study of the mathematical basis of ancient Tamil music" delivered under the auspices of the Madras University on the 24th February, 1936 observed that it was evident that the first note of the ancient Tamil musical scale was Madhyama and that the first Rāga of the ancient Tamilians was also the Kharaharapriyā. [Vide also the report of the lecture in the Hindu of the 25th February, 1936, page 14, Column 3.]

3. The following is Venkaṭa Makhin's definition of the Rāga Kharaharapriyā (which he chooses to call श्रीराग):

षड्जश्च पञ्चश्रुतिकरिषभाख्यः स्वरः परः ।

साधारणाख्यगांधारः शुद्धौमध्यमपञ्चमौ ॥

recognised to be a distinct and separate one¹.

In all probability, in days when instrumental music was little known or unknown (almost in prehistoric times), it is very likely that a reversal in the order of svaras like सधनि (instead of the regular सनिध) was retained, purely as a matter of convenience and audibility².

चतुः श्रुतिधैवतश्च कैशिक्याख्यनिषादकः ।

एतैः सप्तस्वरैर्जातः श्रीरागस्य तु मेलकः ॥

श्लो० १३१—१३३ (verses 132-133)

मेलप्रकरणम् पृ. ४७ (page 47)

चतुर्दण्डीप्रकाशिका प्रथमोभागः संगीतविद्वत्सभाग्रन्थमाला ३

Compare also the following:

शुद्धषड्जोऽथ पञ्चश्रुत्युषमश्च ततः परम् ।

स्यात्साधारणगांधारः शुद्धौमध्यमपञ्चमौ ॥

पञ्चश्रुतिधैवतश्च कैशिक्याख्यनिषादकः ।

एतैः सप्तस्वरैर्युक्तः श्रीरागस्य च मेलकः ॥

Svaramelakalānidhi मेलप्रकरणम्. Verses 16 and 17, page 22.
Mr. M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer's edition.

Rāmāmātya explains in the following stanzas what he means by Pañcaśruti Rṣabha and Pañcaśruti Dhāivata.

लक्ष्येतु कुत्रचिच्छुद्धगान्धारस्थानमाश्रयम् ।

रिषमः कीर्त्यतेऽस्माभिः पञ्चश्रुत्युषमाह्वयः ॥

एवं शुद्धनिषादस्य स्थाने धैवत आस्थितः ।

लक्ष्यानुरोधाद्गदितः सपञ्चश्रुति धैवतः ॥

ibid स्वरप्रकरणम्. Verses 53, 54, 55 and 56, page 12.

See also ibid Introduction page XXVI and f. n. 1 and page xxix and f. n. 2 also page XXXVI and f. n. 2.

1. “अतिस्वार्य was the last addition to the lower end.” Vide Contributions to the study of Ancient Hindu Music by P.R. Bhandarkar Indian Antiquary Volume XLI, page 163.

2. It must be in very ancient times that the instrumental music was unknown in India for in the Taittiriya Saṁhitā 7, 5, 9 reference is made to the Vāṇa, lute with a hundred strings and the Bhūmi Dundubhi, the Earth-Drum, which perhaps has its equivalent now in the Ghaṭa Vādyam.

(Vide: N. K. Venkatesan, Musical Instruments in Ancient India,

Sāyaṇa, doubtless properly understood that the Sāman scale was a downward series as is evidenced by the following passages in his commentary on Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa. Says he in his commentary on the following:

तथोसौ क्रुष्टतम इव साम्नः स्वरस्तं देवा उपजीवन्ति ।

(Burnell's edition of Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa I, i, 8.)

क्रुष्टादय एव यमा उच्यन्ते ते चोत्तरोत्तरं नीचा भवन्ति ॥

इव इत्येवकारार्थोऽत्यन्तं उच्चस्वर एव अस्ति गानकाले तं स्वरं देवाः
इन्द्रादयः उपजीवन्ति ॥

(Burnell's edition, page 4.)

Again on ऋष्टः प्राजापत्यो ब्राह्मो वा वैश्वदेवः

(Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, I, i, 14.)

Says Sāyaṇa:—

यः क्रुष्टाख्यः उत्तमस्वरोऽस्ति तस्य प्राजापतिर्ब्रह्मा विश्वेदेवास्त्रयो
विकल्पेन देवाः

(Burnell's edition, page 8.)

But perhaps being influenced by the fact that the *avarohā* (descending order) in secular music of his time came to be firmly established in the following order:—

नि, ध, प, म, ग, रि, स, Sāyaṇa rather uncritically equated them with क्रुष्ट etc. Hence in his Bhāṣya on सामविधानब्राह्मण he says the following:—

लौकिके ये निषादादयः सप्त स्वराः प्रसिद्धाः त एव साम्नि क्रुष्टादयः
सप्तस्वराः भवन्ति । तद्यथा यो निषादः स क्रुष्टः, धैवतः प्रथमः, पञ्चमः
द्वितीयः, मध्यमस्तृतीयः, गान्धारश्चतुर्थः, ऋ(रि)षभो मन्द्रः, षड्जोऽतिस्वार्थ
इति¹ ॥

Dharmarājya, 16th November, 1935.)

बाणः शततन्तुर्भवति दुन्दुभीन् समान्ति भूमिदुन्दुभिम् आग्नन्ति
T. S. 7, 5, 9. Anandāśrama series, No. 42, part 8, pages 4716-7.

1. I am unable to see on what basis Mr. Swarup assumes that क्रुष्ट etc., correspond respectively to नि, स, रि, ग, म, प, ध of secular scale (*Vide* Swarup's theory of Indian Music, chapter III and IV, p. 18ff.)

Mr. C. V. Vaidya also, to my mind, does not clearly state his views regarding the point. *Vide* his History of Sanskrit Literature Volume I—Śruti (Vedic) period—Section I—Samhitas IX. Sāmaveda, page 116 also. *ibid.* Note 1. Sāma singing, page 121,

Thus we see that the *Tṛtīya Svāra* in *Sāman* chant is our *Rṣabha*. We learn that this *Tṛtīya Svāra* was significantly called *dhṛta*, from *Vaidikābharaṇa* (a commentary on *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*) by Gārga Gopālayajvan. Says he:—

क्रुष्टादीनां सप्तानां स्वराणां मध्ये तृतीयाह्वयो यो मध्यमः स्वरः तस्य धृत इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञा ॥ क्रुष्टप्रथमद्वितीया उत्क्षेपिणः । चतुर्थमन्द्रातिस्वार्या अपक्षेपिणः । तृतीयस्तु उभयरहितो मध्ये लीयमानत्वात् धृतसंज्ञः ॥

(*Vide* Mysore edition of *Taitt. Prāt.*, page 451.)¹

We learn also that the *Tṛtīya Svāra* of the *Sāman* scale and *prācāya* are identical. Says Gopālayajvan:—

उदात्तस्तु किञ्चिद्वृक्षिष्यते इति धृतोदात्तयोरीषद् विशेषः । अत एव 'उदात्तश्रुतिः' (XXI. 10.) इति उदात्तस्येव श्रुतिः प्रचयस्येति इवार्थ उपपद्यते । तस्मादेतावानुदात्तप्रचययोर्भेद इति प्रकटनार्थं धृत इति विशेषणम् ॥

(*ibid.* page 451.)

Again:—

मन्द्र-चतुर्थ-तृतीय द्वितीयास्युः अनुदात्तस्वरितप्रचयोदात्ताः

(*Vide* *Māhīṣeya Bhāṣya* on *Taitt. Prāt.* XXIII, 16. Also see on XXIII, 17.

तृतीयचतुर्थौ प्रचयस्वरितौ

Veṅkatarama Sharma's edition, *Madras University Sanskrit Series*, No. I, page 184).

1. Cf. द्वितीय-प्रथम-क्रुष्टास्त्रय आह्वारकस्वराः

(*Taitt. Prāt.* XXIII, 15.)

Māhīṣeya Bhāṣyam (*Madras University, Sanskrit Series*, No I, page 184, 1930.)

एते त्रयः स्वरा आह्वारकाः आयागो दारुण्यमिति लक्षणवशादुत्क्षेपिण इत्यर्थः । एतेन तृतीयमवधिं कृत्वा चतुर्थाद्या अन्ववसर्ग इति लक्षणवशादवक्षेपिणः । तृतीयस्तु धृतप्रचय इति गम्यते ।

प्रातिलोभ्येन निर्देशात् तृतीयस्त्ववधिः समः ।

उत्क्षिप्तोत्क्षिप्ततरकौ द्वितीयप्रथमौ-मतौ ॥

स्यात्क्षिप्र उत्क्षिप्ततमस्तृतीया उत्तरास्त्रयः ।

चतुर्थाद्या अवक्षेप्यास्तारतम्यं तु पूर्ववत् ॥

तृतीयस्तु समः ।

उत्क्षेपावक्षेपयोरित्यर्थः ।

Further we have तृतीयाख्यः प्रचयः (Vaidikābharṇa—Mysore edition of Taitt. Prat. Page 516.)

The identification of प्रचयस्वर with the तृतीयस्वर of the Sāman music is further supported by the following verses from *Sarvasammata Śikṣā* which describe the denotation of the accents by means of the fingers:—

गोकर्णाकृति हस्ते तु निर्दिशेद्दक्षिणे स्वरम् ।

निवेश्य दृष्टिं (?) हस्ताग्रे शास्त्रार्थमनुचिन्तयन् ॥

दक्षिणे गोकर्णाकृतिहस्ते हस्ताग्रे दृष्टिं (?) निवेश्य प्रातिशाख्यादि-
शास्त्रार्थमनुचिन्तयन् अङ्गुष्ठेन स्वरं निर्दिशेत् ॥

पुरुषो हि व्रजेन्नारीं न नारी पुरुषं व्रजेत् ।

तथाङ्गुलीषु सर्वास्तु नयेदङ्गुष्ठमेव तु¹ ॥

सर्वास्वङ्गुलीष्वङ्गुष्ठमेव नयेत् ।

पुरुषो हि इति दृष्टान्तः ।

शिरःकम्पं विहायैव स्वरन्यासो विधीयते ॥

स्पष्टं किं च ।

कनिष्ठानामिकामध्यातर्जन्यङ्गुलीनां मध्यपर्वस्वेवानुदात्तस्वरितप्रचयो-
दात्तान् क्रमेणाङ्गुष्ठाग्रेण विनिर्दिशेत् । पक्षान्तरमाह—

तर्जन्यादि कनिष्ठादि तथैवानामिकान्त्यकम् ।

मध्यमाङ्गुलिमध्यं स्यात् स्वरस्थानं विधीयते ॥

तर्जन्या आदिमं पर्वोदात्तस्य स्थानं कनिष्ठाया आदिमं पर्वानुदात्तस्थानम्
अनामिकाया अन्त्यं पर्वस्वरितस्थानं मध्यमाङ्गुल्या मध्यमं पर्वं च प्रचयस्थान-
मिति विधीयते इत्यर्थः² ॥

1. This stanza occurs in Śabhāpati's Dhāraṇalakṣaṇa. Vide Catalogue of a collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts, page 143. by Burnell, Part IV Vedic manuscript.

2. Sarvasammata Śikṣā as quoted by Kielhorn. Remarks on the Śikṣās. Indian Antiquary Volume V, page, 198. cf. also V 44 of Pāṇiniya Śikṣā.

उदात्तं प्रदेशिनीं विद्यात् प्रचयं मध्यतोऽङ्गुलिम् ॥

निहतं तु कनिष्ठिकां स्वरितोपकनिष्ठिकाम् ॥

(There is an extra syllable in the first Pāda.)

It is clear, therefore, that the word *dhṛta* in the sūtra
धृतप्रचयः कौण्डिन्यस्य

(Taitt. Prāt. xviii, 3.)

had a special signification and connoted the idea of keynote, for the production of प्रचयस्वर is sustained and steady, unlike the production of उदात्त (where the voice all at once rises to a high pitch), the production of स्वरित (where the voice rises in the first half of the syllable to a level still higher than that of उदात्त) and the production of अनुदात्त (where the voice sinks to a low level).

Thus we see at one time in the history of Vedic music, the fourth note, the प्रचयस्वर came to be distinguished from the other three *svaras*, *udatta*, *anudatta* and *svarita* and as the concept of keynote gradually grew, it was significantly christened as धृतप्रचयः by the author of the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya.

[That the word *dhṛta* is a significant technical term for keynote is amply borne out by the fact that the *Tṛtīyasvara* of the Sāman music (i.e. our Ṛṣabha) which was identical with *pracaya* was also called *dhṛta* in later times.]¹

1. Bharata says that if the Ṣaḍja grāma is increased by three śrutis in all, then the Ṛṣabha and Dhaivata in the Ṣaḍja-grāma coincide with the Ṣaḍja and Pañcama of the Madhyama-grāma Vīṇā.

अथ द्वीग्रामौ षड्जो मध्यमश्चेति । तत्राश्रिता द्वाविंशतिः श्रुतयः । यथा—
तिष्ठो द्वे च चतस्रश्च चतस्रस्तिष्ठ एव च ।

द्वे चतस्रश्च षड्जाख्ये ग्रामे श्रुतिनिर्दर्शनम् ॥ ११

मध्यमग्रामे तु श्रुत्यपकृष्टः पञ्चमः कार्यः । पञ्चमस्य श्रुत्युत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यांयदन्तरं ।
मादवादायतत्वाद्वा तावत्प्रमाणश्रुतिः ।

(Vide also Contributions to the study of Ancient Indian music, by P. R. Bhandarkar, page 193, footnotes 46, 47, Indian Antiquary, Volume XLI.)

निर्दर्शनं च समभिव्याख्यास्यामः । यथा द्वे वीणे तुल्यप्रमाणतन्त्र्युपपादनदण्ड-
मूर्च्छने षड्जग्रामाश्रिते कार्ये । तयोरन्यत्रिं मध्यमग्रामकीं कुर्यात् ।

पञ्चमस्यापकर्षे श्रुतिं तामेव पञ्चमस्य श्रुत्युत्कर्षवशात् षड्जग्रामकीं कुर्यात् ।
एवं श्रुतिरपकृष्टा भवति । पुनरपि तद्वदेवापकर्षात् गान्धारनिष्पादावपि इतरस्यां
धैवतर्षभौ प्रविशतः । श्रुत्यधिकत्वात् ।

In this connection, it is useful to remember that in ancient Indian music, the wire (of the *Viṇā*) upon which the melody was played, was not tuned to *ma* as it is now but to *ri*¹. In Grecian (Dorian) music also, the octave was perhaps taken from *ri* to *ri*².

For Strangways seems to have recognised, though somewhat vaguely, that the *प्रचयस्वर* was the keynote in *Sāman* music. For he says that the *प्रचयै* was in principle the forerunner of the drone frequently relegated to the drum³.

The *Paṇiniya Śikṣa* contains the following stanza:—

उदात्ते निषादगान्धारावनुदात्तरूपमधैवतौ ।

पुनस्तद्वेवापकर्षात् धैवतर्षभावितरस्यां षड्जपञ्चमौ प्रविशतः
श्रुत्याधिकत्वात् ।

भरतनाट्यशास्त्र, पृ० ३२७, २२ काशीमुद्रितम्

(28th chapter, p. 22, pages 318-319. Kāśī Sanskrit Series, No. 60)
Looked at from this point of view also, there is no impropriety of *Rṣabha* of the *Ṣaḍja Grāma Viṇā* being the keynote of *Sāman* music.

1. See the *Rāgas of Hindustan*. Volume I—The theory of Indian Music, Philharmonic Society of Western India, Poona, 1918, page 13.

Cf. also Clements, Introduction to the study of Indian Music, page 32.

2 *Cf.* Swarup, Theory of Indian Music, page 32.

“The following are the six authentic ecclesiastical modes, keys or scales of Glarean, a learned theoretician, with the incorrect Greek names he assigned to them.

[Dodeca chordon (Basle 1547)].

Ionic	C D E F G A B C
Doric	D E F G A B C D
Phrygian	E F G A B C D E
Lydian	F G A B C D E F
Mixolydian	G A B C D E F G
Eolic	A B C D E F G A

Vide Helmholtz. The Sensations of tone. English translation by A. J. Ellis London. Third edition, 1895, page 245.

3. *Vide* Music of Hindostan, page 247, f. n. 2.

स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥ (१२)^१

The Yājñavalkya Śikṣā has the following instead^२:—

उच्चौ निषादगान्धारौ नीचावृषभधैवतौ ।

शेषास्तु स्वरितज्ञेया षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥

which in substance means the same thing.

“The ancient and authoritative writers on Indian Music have employed three terms *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* in their treatises and have assigned definite meanings to them, the *udātta* is to be chanted on *Niṣāda* or *gāndhāra* notes, the *anudātta* on *ṛṣabha* or *dhaivata*, and the *svarita* on *ṣaḍja*, *madhyama*, or *pañcama* notes. The stanzas from the śikṣās say the same thing in effect, in that they assign two notes to each of the three terms. Thus they have constituted two alternative sets of notes: *ṛṣabha*, *gāndhāra*, and *madhyama* or *dhaivata*, *niṣāda* and *ṣaḍja* for *anudātta*, *udātta* and *svarita* respectively^३”

1. *Vide* Nārada Śikṣā i, viii. Verse 8. cf. also the following:—

उच्चे निषादगान्धारौ (तथा) नीचे ऋषभधैवतौ ते ।

(Nānyadeva's Bharatabhāṣya, Chapter II, page 18.)

स्वरितेन विधातव्याषड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥

cf. Muller Rk Prātiśākhya, p. cclxxii

2. Yājñavalkya Śikṣā. Verse 7, Śikṣā Samgraha, Benares Sanskrit Series.

The previous verse in Yājñavalkya Śikṣā is the following:—

गान्धर्ववेदे ये प्रोक्ताः सप्त षड्जादयः स्वराः ।

त एव वेदे विज्ञेयाः त्रय उच्चादयः स्वराः ॥

Śikṣā Samgraha, page 1, Benares Sanskrit Series. The Yājñavalkya Śikṣā thus directly tells us that the Vedic accent was musical. *Vide* James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. VII, Critical studies in the Phonetic observations of Indian Grammarians by Siddheshwar Varma, The Royal Asiatic Society, London. 1929.

3. *Vide*. A stanza from Pāṇini's Śikṣā by G. S. Khare in Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 339 ff. *See also* Mr. M.S. Ramaswamy Iyer's Introduction to *Rāgavibodha* p. 32 ff.

Ri being *samvādi* of *dhaivata*¹, and therefore if the former was the keynote, we must naturally expect that the latter also to be such.

1. As the interval between the two notes is 13 Śrutis, when *Ri* is taken as *Ṣaḍja*, then *dha* would be *Pañcama*. The name पञ्चम given to मन्द्र (our धैवत) can thus be shown to be significant: "Bharata says that two notes whose mutual distance consists of nine or thirteen śrutis should be considered to be mutually concordant (*Samvādi*) or capable of enhancing each other's melody. Even later writers namely Dattila and Maṭaṅga recognise the same number of *Śrutis* as constituting the interval between two concordant notes".

ययोश्च नवकत्रयोदशश्रुत्यन्तरे तावन्योन्यं संवादिनौ, यथा षड्जमध्यमौ षड्जपञ्चमौ ।

भरतनाट्यशास्त्र, पृ० ३१७, प. १०

(28th chapter p. 317. p. 20).

दत्तिलेनाप्युक्तम्—'मिथः संवादिनौ ज्ञेयौ त्रयोदशनवान्तरौ' ।

संगीतरत्नाकरसिंहभूपालटीका Calcutta पृ. ५३, प. ४. (page 53, p. 4.)

नवकत्रयोदशान्ताः संवादिनः बृहद्देशी पृ. १६, पं ६ (pages 16, पं ७)

Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 94.

"It follows from Bharata's recognition of *Madhyama* and *Pañcama* to be the notes concordant with *ṣaḍja*, that there should be nine *Śrutis* between *ṣaḍja* and *Madhyama* and an interval containing thirteen *Śrutis* between *ṣaḍja* and *Pañcama*".

Similarly the interval between *Rṣabha* and *Dhaivata* must be 13 *Śrutis*. Mr. Telang has conclusively proved that Bharata recognised in the first instance 24 *Śrutis* in an octave assigning four to *Ṣaḍja*, four to *Rṣabha*, two to *Gāndhāra*, four to *Madhyama*, four to *Pañcama*, four to *Dhaivata* and two to *Niṣāda* on the ground that the first *Śruti* of *Rṣabha* below *ṣaḍja* as also the first *Śruti* of *Dhaivata* below *Pañcama* were discordant and therefore prejudicial to melody.

[एकश्रुत्यन्तरितौ विवादिनौ वैरिणौ मिथो भवतः ।

Somanāth's Rāgavibodha. प्रथमो विवेकः श्रुतिस्वरादि, श्लो० ३८, पृ. ४,
(Verse 38, page 4)

Mr. M. S. Ramaawamy Iyer's edition.]

Bharata must have refrained from assigning names to them. The twenty-two *Śrutis* alone attained celebrity and recognition.

Vide. The 22 *Śrutis* of Indian Music: A Complete exposition, being a lecture delivered before the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 22nd April 1931 by Mr. M. R. Telang, Poona 1933. p. 33ff.

This is what we actually find also in Sāman chant, for the final tone 5 (मन्द्र = धैवत) as in S V 1, 1, 2 (Ed I, p. 95) $\bar{b}arh\bar{i}3\bar{s}i-$
 $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{5}$ represents the keynote of Sāman¹.

It is interesting to note in this connection that according to Mr. Clement's opinion, the ancient *suddha-vikṛta* system was based upon Bharatamata which had 'Dha' for keynote (*Vide* Mr. M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer's Introduction to Svaramela-kalānidhi p. xxx.)

Another interesting fact is that the choice of *Suddha-scale* by a classical author Ahobala begins from रि which is taken as षड्ज.

He arrived at the Rāga Kāphi which corresponds to Khara-harapriyā of the Carnatic music (*Vide ibid* page xxx.).

चतुश्चतुश्चतुश्चैव षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ।

द्वे द्वे निषादगांधारौ त्रिस्त्री रिषभधैवतौ ॥

तथैव च व्यवस्थित्या शुद्धमेलः सुसाधितः ।

हरप्रियः समाख्यातो ह्यहोबलादिपण्डितैः ॥²

1. *Vide*. Lakṣmaṇa Śrauti's edition of Sāma Veda Samhitā-Veyagāṇa p. 2. (पृ० १) J. M. Van der Hoogt. The Vedic chant studied in its textual and melodic form, page 42.

2. Mr. V. N. Bhatkande alias Paṇḍit Catura.—*Lakṣya Saṃgīta* page 11, Verses 101 and 105, Nirṇayasagar edition. *See also* A short Historical survey of the music of upper India (A reproduction of the speech delivered by Mr. V.N. Bhatkande at the Baroda All India Music Conference in 1916). Bombay 1917 page 29. Mr. M. R. Telang is of the opinion that the natural scale as propounded by Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra and Śārṅgadeva's Saṃgīta-ratnākara, was also the scale of Kāfi Rāga being exactly that laid down in the Pārijāta. Mr. Ganpatrao Gopālrao Barve is reported to have made an attempt to reconcile the current Bilāval scale with the 22nd Śrutis mentioned in the Śloka:

चतुश्चतुश्चतुश्चैव षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ।

द्वे द्वे निषादगान्धारौ त्रिस्त्रीर्ऋषभमधैवतौ ॥

It is reported also that the error was emended later on, subsequent to Mr. Ganpatrao Gopālrao Barve's visit to Mr. Telang when the former learnt from the latter that the scale formed according to the *Śrutis* laid down in the Śloka was not the *Bilāvala* scale but the scale of the *Kāfi Rāga* (*See*, Nāḍalahari by Mr. Ganpatrao Gopālrao Barve, pp. 119-121).

"The *śuddha* scale of Saṃgīta Pārijāta is the same as that of our modern Kāphi Rāga. This scale will correspond with the southern scale Karaharapriyā¹.

Whitney ventured the conjecture whether the mode of writing the accent² might not have been without influence on the theory as to its character—that is to say, that the vedic phonetists may have come by an after thought to declare that the *pracaya* syllables of acute tone, and to pronounce them so because they agreed with the acute in being without a sign of accent, while originally no such correspondence in character was perceived or signified.

Vide. The 22 *Srutis* of Indian Music, A Complete Exposition, being a lecture delivered before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 22nd April 1931, by Mr. M. R. Telang, Poona 1933, pages 5—6 and also page 20.

1. Cf. स—रीगमौ प—धौनिश्च स्वरा इत्यपि संशिताः ।

चतुःश्रुतिसमायुक्ताः स —म—पाभिधाः ॥

Saṃgīta Pārijāta by Ahobala edited by Kālivara Vedāntabāgīśa and Sarada Prasāda Ghosha (Calcutta 1879), Verse 66. It must be remembered that in the Rāga Kharaharapriyā of Carnatic music, ṛṣabha is the जीवस्वर. Hence it is not unlikely the ṛṣabha was originally the आरम्भस्वर. It may be useful to remember in this connection that "there would be no chronological obstacle to supposing that the mode of accentuation which first appears in Greek papyri of the first century B. C. as in the Bacchylides papyrus, kenjon, Bacchylides, Introduction, p. xx, Palaeography of Greek Papyri, p. 28 may have been derived, directly or mediately, from the celebrated school of Pāṇini—the great Indian grammarian."

Vide, "On Ancient Greek Accentuation," by J. P. Postgate Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XI, page 49.

(To be continued)

TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM.

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., L.T.,

Chidambaram.

Tirukkalukkunram has one of the most ancient and most sacred of Siva temples in the Tamil's land. It is situated about nine miles south east of Chingleput on the South Indian Railway and is easily accessible by bus. Its importance is greatly enhanced as it lies midway on the road to Māmallapuram, a great port and emporium of the Pallavas, enriched by immortal art, the oldest of rock-cut and structural temples and large-scale sculptures on single pieces of rock. The term "Tirukkalukkunram" means the "Hill worshipped by the Kites"; "Pakshī-tīrtham is its Sanskrit equivalent; and various other names have been given to it.

Legends.

Many legends are associated with Tirukkalukkunram. According to one of them, the Vedas are believed to remain in this place in the shape of the hills. This explains the origin of the names Vedagiri, Tirumalai, Srutimalai, Vedapporrai and Maṛaikkodu. For having slighted and disobeyed Siva's orders, Nandidevar is said to have done penance to the Lord of this place and gained salvation. Thus the place has derived the name Nandipurī. Tilottamā of the celestial region came in the shape of a cow to disturb Nandideva's penance. Nandī came to know of it and cursed her to remain a cow till the Kali age, promising her release at the hands of the Chola King, Suraguru. Sage Mārkaṇḍeya too is said to have performed penance in the forest of this region. Mayeekan who was a Rakshasa, assumed the form of a boar and caused trouble to the creatures of the forest. Mārkaṇḍeya pronounced a curse upon him making the Rākshasa retain his beastly form till his liberation at the hands of Suraguru.

Suraguru, a legendary Chola king, ruled the land with Kadalmallai (Māmallapuram) as his capital. Once, while he was on a hunt, he aimed an arrow at the boar but it missed the mark and hit Tilottamā, the celestial being in the shape of the cow. The King was pious and good-natured, so the Lord

caused the sin of killing the cow to be expelled in the shape of a crow, and the place where the crow fell became a rock, on the southern side of the Lord's Hill. Now the rock is known by the name of the 'Crow's Hill'.

Vishnu, it is related, committed sin by murdering the wife of Bhrghu who had given shelter to some Asuras. In expiation of the sin, Vishnu is said to have worshipped Siva in Tirukkalukkunram. So this place is called Narayana-pura.

A story is told of a devadāsī, Nāccimuttu by name, who was truly devoted to the God of Vedagiri, and she used to sing everyday after worship a song*composed by a Vaishnavite on this deity. One day thunder and storm prevented her going to the temple. Then she implored the God of the Sacred Hill to manifest Himself before her in her courtyard and accept her devotion. And lo! the Lord responded and presented Himself in front of her. When the Lord was about to depart, she clasped the hoofs of Siva's vehicle, the bull, and the Vaishnavite poet too clung to her feet; and both were carried to Kailas.

Brahmā seems to have been partial in his love to Saraswatī at the expense of Sāvitṛī. The latter, therefore, cursed her Lord and Brahmā sought the advice of Vishnu. According to his directions Brahmā did penance in this place. He was finally absolved of his sin. In consequence, Tirukkalukkunram came to be known as Brahmapuri.

Let us narrate the story of the Kites—*Sambu* and *Adi*. They were two brothers who quarrelled whether the God (Siva) or the Goddess (Sakti) was superior. The Lord Himself declared that both were equal, but even after His admonition they would not stop quarrelling and when they persisted they were cursed to become kites. In the Kali age they are known by the names of Sambu and Adi. They visit the hill everyday to pray for their salvation, and the *Pakṣhipaṇḍāram* (the birdpriest) of the Vedagiri hill feeds the two birds at noon everyday. It is this feature that draws most the attention of pilgrims as well as sightseers, chiefly foreigners.

Among the various other personages who seem to have attained salvation here are Agastīya, Ahalyā, Indra, Rudrakoti (Siva's servants), Ganga, the twelve Adityas (Suns), Mārkaṇḍeya, the eight Vasus, Varuṇa, Viśvāmītra.

Topography and Shrines:

The hill is regarded as the very embodiment of the Vedas; and it is called Vedagiri. Owing to the sacred character of the hill in every part (as at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai of the *Tejo-liṅga*) it must have been devoid at one time of any shrine. The devotees would not have been willing to tread on it. So, they say, did the three saints—Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar—worship the Lord from below.

Apart from the place where the Kites are fed by the Paṇḍāraṁ, there are two shrines on the hill. One is a rock-cut Pallava cave temple most probably excavated by the Pallava King Mahendravarman (7th century A.D.) but generally attributed to his son, Narasimhavarman I. The incomplete inscription in archaic Tamil script of Narasimhavarman gives the name of “mūlasthāna on the hill” to this shrine; and it is the oldest inscription in this place. On the pillars of this cave-temple are found a large number of signatures of Dutch visitors. The other shrine on the top of the hill seems to have had its origin in the 8th century A.D. most probably in the days of Rājasimha (Narasimhavarman II)—or one of his immediate successors.

There is a shrine at the foot of the hill of Vedagiri called now the *Bhaktavatsala* temple whose walls contain almost all the inscriptions which range from the end of the 9th century A.D. (898 A.D.) to almost the eve of British settlement in India. In this temple there is in the 2nd prākāra a strong-room (tiru ābharaṇa koṭṭaḍi) with a semi-circular back wall. It has all the features of a temple of the 9th century A.D. The Vimāna is of the shape of the back of an elephant (Gaja prsthā vimāna) and there are images of Ganeśa, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Durgā with features of 9th century sculptures. A number of inscriptions on the walls of the ‘strong-room’ mention the central shrine of Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam (Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇattu Śrī Mūlasthānapperumāṇaḍigaḷ). I am disposed to think after a close inspection during my recent visit, that this is the oldest Mūlasthāna shrine of this place. In later times, it was abandoned and a new liṅga was consecrated and that became the modern Bhaktavatsala.

The Oldest Shrine.

“Which is the original Mūlasthāna shrine?” is a question of some importance. The officers of the Epigraphical Depart-

ment consider either the shrine at the top of the Vedagiri hill or the rock-cut Pallava cave in it to be the original Mūlasthāna. I do not favour such a view, and my conclusions alone can be set forth here. The oldest inscription in the Bhaktavatsala temple is a very important one of the 27th year of a certain Rājakesarivarman who can be identified without any uncertainty with the Chola King, Āditya I (of accession 871 A.D.), and this is found on the west wall of the strong-room of this shrine. It is said that at the request of a certain Puttaṅ, this king promised to confirm and maintain the original grant of lands free of tax (*iṛai-y-ili*) made by the previous kings of the land (*pūrva rājākkaḷ*) to the Mūlasthāna temple at Tirukkalukkunram. Of these kings only two are mentioned. One is the donor Skandaśiṣya whom we cannot properly identify as there are a number of kings of that name, but he should be assigned roughly to the 5th century A.D. The other is Narasimhavarman I, the conqueror of Vātāpi (middle of the 7th century A.D.) whose inscription also is found in the Pallava Orukal (rock cut temple) maṇḍapa on the Vedagiri hill. Narasimhavarman is said to have protected the original endowment of Skandaśiṣya. The reconfirmation of the same grant by Āditya Chola happened soon after his conquest of the Pallava country (Tonḍaimaṇḍalam). There are also a number of other inscriptions on the walls of this 'strong-room' which mention the Mūlasthāna temple of this place till 1085 A.D. So this strong-room within the premises of the Bhaktavatsala temple should have been the original Mūlasthāna. If so, the God consecrated in that 'strong-room' should have been the oldest shrine of the Tamil land referred to in inscriptions. The present structure of the shrine (the strong room) has to be assigned to the 9th century A.D. Perhaps it was a renovation of the original shrine of the days of Skandaśiṣya.

There are about a dozen sacred tanks in the place. The tarn on the hill is called the *Sampāti Sunai* the *Saṅkha tiriṭham* at the foot of the Vedagiri hill from which a conch emerges once in about 12 years, and the 'Nandi-tirṭham' in the enclosure of the Bhaktavatsala shrine are the most important. The Pālāru is the holy river of this deity.

The Tamil Saints:

To Māṇikka Vācakar the Lord manifested Himself in this place. Appar has celebrated Tirukkalukkunram with his

hymns. Sambandar (7th century A.D.) has sung devotional songs on the Lord whom he calls 'Kaḷḷam Vallāṇ' (an adept in the art of cunning). 'Poṇṇittār' the Giver of gold is one of the appellations of this God; it is to be believed that he used to reward his devotees with gold. Sundarar came to this place expecting to get gold from the Lord; at first the Lord hid Himself and remained in the western gopura; but Sundarar entered the temple by the southern gate; and, by sheer perseverance in his devotion, received both gold and grace from Siva. The fourth day festival of this place still celebrates this incident in the life of this saint. Hence the name of the 'Lord who hid himself to Nambi' (i.e., Sundarar)

At the end of the 9th century A.D., the region of Tirukkaḷukkunṇam passed from the rule of the Pallavas to that of the Cholas who exercised their sway till the end of the 13th century A.D. It is the *Mūlasthāna* that receives the homage of princes and people till about the end of the 11th century A.D. And an endowment is occasionally made to the Lord on the sacred hill. But after the 11th century the name 'Mūlasthāna' drops and the god is named the Lord of Tirukkaḷukkunṇam. When the god of the Mūlasthāna was abandoned and why, we do not know. But we learn that a general of the Pāṇḍya King Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of Madura (accession 1251 A.D.) made a new shrine and consecrated a liṅga. Perhaps it is the modern Bhaktavatsala, and most of the inscriptions of this Pāṇḍya ruler call the Lord the giver of gold "Poṇṇittiṣvaram-uḍaiyār". After the rule of the Pāṇḍyas this region passed into the hands of the Vijayanagar rulers whose inscriptions in this place range from the 14th to the 16th century A.D.

Local Inscriptions:

According to inscriptions, Tirukkaḷukkunṇam, otherwise called Ulakalanda-Chola Puṇam, is said to be in Kaḷattūr Koṭṭam a sub-division of Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chola-maṇḍalam.

In an inscription of the 12th year of Kulottuṅga (I? accession on 1070 A.D.) we are told that two persons went out together for a hunt; and by accident, one of them killed the other by an arrow evidently aimed at an animal. So the assembly of the place resolved that the guilty person should make an endowment for a lamp to be burnt in the local temple. In an inscription whose script can be assigned to the 12th

century A.D., a certain Suryadevan is said to have set up an image of Pillaiyār in the temple (on the top of the hill) of Vedagiriśvara and to have constructed the flight of steps on the hill. In the reign of Kulottuṅga II (6th year 1139 A.D.) it is recorded that a military officer of a feudatory called Edivili Chola Sambavaroya was killed by another, and thereupon the wife of the deceased committed *Sati*. At the instance of the elders of the assembly of the Nāḍu the criminal was made to endow two lamps for the merit of the two deceased.

During the long period of recorded history of about eleven centuries or more; only two cases of serious theft are mentioned. In 1213 A.D. (35th year of Tribhuvana Vīradeva i.e., Kulottuṅga III) a certain man was caught red-handed while removing the forehead plate (*tiruppaṭṭam*) of the deity. He was declared a *drohin* (enemy to the community) ejected from his house. It was confiscated and sold. The proceeds were used for paying the charges of the masons and other workmen who were employed in the construction of the steps to the hundred-pillared maṇḍapa in the third enclosure of the temple.

Another similar case of theft happened in the days of Vīra Kumāra Kampana Uḍaiyār (latter part of the 14th century A.D.) of Vijayanagar. It is recorded that a certain man was caught in the act of sealing the gates of the strong-room after removing the gold leaf of the *tiruvāṣi* (worth about 150 poṇ) of the idol in the room. Thereupon the assembly of the Nāḍu met and confiscated his '*Kāṇi*' rights, declaring him a *Sivadrohin* (enemy to Śiva); and the proceeds of these rights sold in auction to various individuals amounting to 850 *paṇams* were deposited in the temple treasury.

These instances indicate the general absence of serious crimes, and the large judicial powers, even in cases of crimes enjoyed by local bodies in those times.

A Great Tamil Merchant Guild

'The *Nānādeśis*' were a great and flourishing Tamil merchant guild that were carrying on extensive oversea trade from at least the earliest Chola times. One of their records is found in Sumatra. In this place there is a reference to the shrine of the Deśivīṭaṅka Perumāḷ' (evidently set up by them and called after them) by the *Nānādeśis* of *Sadīravasagaṇ paṭṭiṇam*. This is perhaps a variant of *Sadras*—a place well

known in later times as a settlement of the Dutch—situated about ten miles from Tirukkalukkunram.

Standard Weights and Measures

The existence of a standard liquid measure called *Selvi Rajakesari* kept in the temple, and of a standard linear measurement representing a rod of 16 spans (*patināruśāṅ kol*) marked on the (upana part) of the basement of the temple, is recorded in one of the local inscriptions. It is further mentioned that the square measure of that standard rod was 'six-mākhani'. The temples of south India filled the role which the British Museum of London did and, now, the Board of Trade does, for the standardization of weights and measures in England.

The European Visitors

From the 17th century to the early 19th century, Europeans chiefly the Dutch were much attracted to Tirukkalukkunram, and there are more than twenty-five names of Dutchmen who visited the place and left their signatures on the hill. Some of them were persons who held distinguished offices in the Dutch service. Chief among them are:—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. Antony Pavilioen (1670). He was the chief at Masulipatam in 1658 A.D. and at Jaffna from 1661 to 1665 A.D. Then he became Governor of the Coromandel Coast with head-quarters at Pulicat which position he occupied for 13 years (1655-78). Perhaps he visited Sadras in 1670 and on his way Tirukkalukkunram.

2. Lawrence Pit Junior (1663) was another Dutch Governor of the Coast (1677-1698). Perhaps he visited the place in the time of Pit Senior who was also Governor (1852-63).

3. William Carel Hartsink (1681), He was the chief Merchant and President at Pulicat from 1679 to 1681 A.D.

A Dutch writer called Havart relates how he and ten others visited the hill on 3rd January, 1681 A.D. and saw the two sacred birds being fed at about midday.

An Englishman who has recorded his visit to this place in the 18th century is George Dawson (1769) who was a Madras Civilian. He came out as a writer in 1751, became a member of the Madras Council (1768); and in 1769 he was appointed Chief of Cuddalore. Perhaps he visited the hill on his way to Cuddalore.

There is a record in the 19th century of Jan Andreis Van Braan (1818) who was the Dutch Commissioner appointed in 1817 in pursuance of the London Convention of the 13th August, 1814 to take delivery of some of the old Dutch factories in India. He visited Sadras in 1818 and assumed charge of the factory from the British Commissioner (31st March, 1818); and his visit recorded at Tirukkālukkunram must be on his way to Sadras.

Such in brief is the romantic vista revealed from local legendary lore and the mute fragments of old records on stone spread over many centuries. The attractiveness of Tirukkālukkunram will last as long as the hill and the lake endure, and man is not dead to the charm of natural scenery, salubrious climate and spiritual appeal.



THE WORKS OF ABHINAVAGUPTA

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

The following works of Abhinavagupta have till now been noted :¹

1. Anuttaratrimśikā laghuvṛtti or Anuttara tattva vimarśinī laghuvṛtti, a brief prose commentary following Utpala's 'mata', on the Anuttaratrimśikā (also trīśikā) or Parātrimśikā which is an extract from the Rudrayāmala.

Mss. MD. 15336.²

TD. 8219-20.

GD. 1107-8.

2. Anuttara trimśikā vivṛti or Parātrimśikā vṛtti following the commentary of Somānanda; another prose gloss on the same text as in no. 1.

Edn. Kasmir Texts. XVIII. 1918.

3. Anuttarāṣṭikā (8 verses).

Edn. Appendix C. pp. 404-5, Dr. Pandey's Abhinavagupta.

4. Anubhavanivedana (ascribed to Abhinava). 4 verses.

Edn. *Ibid.* p. 414.

5. Īśvarapratyabhijñā vimarśinī (-laghu vimarśinī), a gloss on Utpala's Ī. Pra.

Edn. Kasmir Texts. 22 and 33.

6. Īśvarapratyabhijñā vivṛti vimarśinī (-bṛhatī vimarśinī) a commentary on Utpala's own vivṛti on his Ī. Pra.

7. Kathāmukhatilaka, referred to by Abhinavagupta in his Ī. Pra. bṛhatī vimarśinī according to Dr. Pandey.

On this, see below for more definite information.

1. Aufrect CC. I. p. 25a; II. p. 5a and III. p. 6a. Dr. K. C. Pandey, Abhinavagupta, Chowk. Publication, pp. 22-68.

2. MD. = Madras Govt. Ori. Mss. Library Descriptive Catalogues.

TD. = Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library Descriptive Catalogues.

GD. = Granthapura (Palace Library) Descriptive Catalogues, Trivandrum.

8. Kāvya-kautukavivaraṇa, a gloss on his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tota's Kāvya-kautuka. Referred to by Abhinavagupta in his Dhvanyālokalocana. (p. 178, N.S. edn. Dhva. Ā. 1928. See also J.O.R.M., VI. pp. 153-162, my article on Writers Quoted in the Abhinava Bhārati; see also pp. 43-44, my Number of Rasas, Adyar Library Series).

9. Kramakeli, a commentary on the Kramastotra, different from Abhinavagupta's own Kramastotra. See p. 236, Abhinavagupta's own Parātrimśikāvivaraṇa, Kas. Texts XVIII; Jayaratha's Com. on Tantrāloka, VIII, Texts 30. p. 191; Kṣemarāja's Com. on Utpala's Śivastotrāvalī, Chowk. 15, p. 78.

10. Kramastotra, 30 verses, composed in A.D. 990-1

Edn. Pandey, App. C. pp 409-412

11. Ghaṭakarparakulakavṛtti

12. Tattvādhva prakāśana. Pandey, p. 34

13. Tantravaṭadhānikā

Edn. Kas. Texts. 24.

14. Tantrasāra

Edn. Kas. texts 17

15. Tantrāloka

Edn. Kas. texts.

16. Tantrocaya. Pandey, p. 64.

17. Devīstotravivaraṇa, cited by Abhinavagupta in his Gītārtha saṃgraha, N. S. edn. p. 477.

18. Dehasthadevatācakra stotra (15 verses)

Edn. Pandey, App. C. pp. 413-4

19. Dhvanyālokalocana. N. S. edn.

20. Nātyaśāstra vivṛti (Abhinava Bhārati)

Edn. G.O.S.

21. Padārthapraveśa nirṇaya ṭīkā referred to by him in his Parātrimśikā vivaraṇa, Kas. Texts 18, p. 162.

22. Paramārthacarcā (8 verses)

Edn. Pandey, App. C. p. 407.

23. Paramārthadvādaśikā or Advayadvādaśikā, 12 verses

Edn. Pandey App C. pp. 405-6

24. Paramārtharāsa or P. S. Saṃgraha.

Edn. Kas. Texts. 7

On this work, see S. S. S. Sastri, *New Indian Antiquary*, I, p. 37 ff.

25. Pūrva pañcikā, com. on the Pūrvaśāstra or Mālinī vijaya. Pandey, p. 31.

26. Prakaraṇa vivaraṇa, com. on Prakaraṇastotra. Pandey. p. 32

27. Prakīrṇakavivaraṇa, ref. to by Jayaratha in his com. on Tantraloka, vii, p. 33.

28. Prabodha (or Bodha) pañcadaśikā.

Edn. Kas. Texts 14

29. Bhagavad gītārtha samgraha. N. S. edn.

30. Bheda vāda vidāraṇa, cited in his Gītārthasamgraha and I. Pra. vimarśinī.

31. Bhairava stotra or Iśvara stotra, 10 verses composed in A.D. 992-3

Edn. Pandey, pp. 412-3

32. Mahopadeśa vimśatikā, 20 verses.

Edn. Pandey, pp. 407-8.

On this work, see my note in the *New Indian Antiquary* III, pp. 32-34.

33. Mālinīvijayavārttika

Edn. Kas. Texts 32.

34. Laghvī prakriyā, a stotra quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Gītārthasamgraha under IV. 28 and XII. 11.

35. Śivadr̥ṣṭyālocana, a com. on Somānanda's Śivadr̥ṣṭi. Quoted by him in his Parā trimśikā vivaraṇa, Kes. Texts 18, p. 116.

36. Śivaśaktyavinābhāva stotra, quoted in his Gītārthasamgraha, pp. 628-9

Besides these, it has been noted also that, as on the Pūrva, Abhinavagupta has commented on the other Āgamaśāstras (Parātrimśikā vivaraṇa, Kas. Texts 18, p. 147) and some more Stotras. His quotations also show that he himself had composed some more Stotras, as also some poems.

Further, Mr. R. A. Sastri notes in his Diary that in the library of Pandit Ramjiva kokil, Banmahal, Srinagar, there is an Amareśvara stotra by Abhinavagupta.

We also come across in the Mss. Catalogues some vague and some incorrect entries against Abhinavagupta's name.

(a) Oudh. xvi 124 - Spanda. We do not understand what this means.

(b) AK. 243, Auf. III p. 6a-Devīmāhātmyaṭikā gupta-vati. Abhinavagupta here is a mistake for Bhāskaraṛāya.

(c) The New Catalogus Catalogom Office of the Madras University purchased from the library of the late Dr. Jacobi a long paper scroll containg a list of book-names given by Pandit

Damodar Sastri, son of Pandit Saheb Ram who are mentioned by Buhler in his Report (p. 26. ff.). In this scroll is found an entry "*Dhvani samketa*" against the name Abhinavagupta.

(d) In the Viśvabhāratī, Santiniketan, is found an entry Devībhujāṅga by Abhinavagupta. I could not examine or verify this entry, since the Librarian is not in a position to supply extracts from this work.

(e) Buhler Kashmir Report 469, Bhandarkar's Report 1875-6 and BORI 469 of 1875-6—Bimbapratibimbavāda is only a part of the Tantrāloka, III.

Further, on p. 107 of his Tantrasāra, (Kas. Texts, XVIII), Abhinavagupta makes a mention of his Tantrāloka and adds to it a perplexing reference to a *Śloka vārtika*. Are we to understand a work of Abhinavagupta here, and if so, whether one of his known works or a new one?

Again, a Nāṭyalocana or Nāṭyālocana has been ascribed to Abhinavagupta. (See Skt. Intro. to N. S. edn. (1928) of the Dhvanyāloka with Locana, p. 2.). No definite evidence has come up yet to confirm this ascription. But I may point out in this connection that in the Candrikā on the Prabodhacandrodaya by Nāḍiṇḍla Gopa (N.S. edn.), there are quotations in Anuṣṭubh verses on topics of Nāṭyaśāstra, ascribed to Abhinavagupta, from which we may suppose that after extensively expounding Bharata, Abhinavagupta thought of a handy resume of the Nāṭyaśāstra. The following are the quotations made by Nāḍiṇḍla Gopa:

p. 7. यथोक्तमभिनवगुप्तपादैः-

यदुपक्षेपकं वस्तु नाट्यादौ रङ्ग उच्यते ।
स एव पूर्वैरङ्गस्त्याद् उपोद्धातं प्रचक्षते ॥

p. 8. यथोक्तमभिनवगुप्तपादैः-

नान्दी पदैर्द्वादशभिरष्टाभिर्वाप्यलंकृता ।
षड्भिः षोडशभिर्वापि चतुर्भिस्त्रिभिरेव वा ॥
अष्टादशपदा नान्दी द्वाविंशतिपदापि वा ।
शंखचक्राब्जचन्द्रेन्द्रचकोरैरवतंसिनी ॥
त्रयश्चा वा चतुरश्चा वा तालमार्गानुसारिणी । इति ।

p. 9. अभिनवगुप्तपादैरपि अङ्गमुक्तम्—

प्रयुज्य विधिनैवं हि पूर्वैर्ज्ञं प्रयोगतः ।

स्थापकः प्रविशेत्तत्र सूत्रधारस्य वेषभाक् ॥

p. 16. यथोक्तमभिनवगुप्तेन-

नृत्यतालानुकारि स्याद् गानमुद्गानमुच्यते ।

p. 128. '—वर्ण्यस्य कथाया वर्णसंज्ञतिः ।'

इत्यभिनवगुप्तपादैरुक्तम् ।

p. 243. यथोक्तमभिनवगुप्तपादैः-

अर्थप्रकृत्यवस्थात्मसन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गवृत्तिमत् ।

अर्थोपक्षेपकैर्युक्तं पताकास्थानकादिभिः ॥

अलङ्कारैस्समायुक्तं सन्धिभिश्चोपसन्धिभिः ।

रसौचित्यविकासैश्च वृत्तानौचित्यवर्जितम् ॥

धीरोदात्ताद्यवस्थानुकृतिर्नाटकमुच्यते । इति ।

An anonymous commentary on a drama called Vasu-
maṅgalanāṭaka by Perusūri (Mad. Govt. Ori. Mss. Lib. D. No.
11618) quotes two verses of Abhinavagupta on Nāṭya topics,
on the first page of the ms.

तदुक्तमभिनवगुप्तपादैः-

'प्रथमं पूर्वैर्ज्ञस्यात् ततः प्रस्तावनेति च ।

आरम्भे सर्वनाट्यानामेतत्सामान्यमिष्यते ॥'

अभिनवगुप्तपादाः प्रकारान्तरेण प्रतिपादयांचक्रिरे-

'यन्नाट्यवस्तुनः पूर्वं रङ्गविज्ञोपशान्तये ।

कुशीलवाः प्रकुर्वन्ति पूर्वैर्ज्ञस्स कीर्तितः ॥

The second quotation, referring to the same topic of
Pūrvaraṅga described in citation one in N. Gopa's commentary
on the Prabodhacandrodaya may be the statement in the same
context of another view.

Mallinātha, in his commentary on the Kumārasambhava I.
8, quotes a quarter of an Anuṣṭubh on Tāna in music and
ascribes it to Abhinavagupta.

'तानस्त्वंशस्वरो मतः' इत्यभिनवगुप्तः ।

The India Office Catalogue, II, p. 123b, says that an Abhi-
navagupta is quoted by Haradatta in his Bodhāyana śrautasūtra-
vyākhyā. Without knowing the citation and its context, nothing
can be said about this reference.

TWO NEW WORKS OF ABHINAVAGUPTA

There is a paper ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, in Telugu script, bearing the shelf no. I. 9. 3. Though there is no indication in this ms. itself, which is a transcript, about its original, I have been able to find out that its original is a ms. in the Samskrit College at Tripunitura. This ms. contains a set of works mostly pertaining to Pratyabhijñā, and its contents are described in MD under nos. 15323 to 15342. There is valuable information here on Abhinavagupta and his works.

The Gurunāthaparāmarśa (MD. 15323)

The first work in this ms. is Gurunāthaparāmarśa, an eulogy on Abhinavagupta. The latter part of this work indulges in mere poetic eulogy, but in its former part, there are some verses containing valuable information.

Śl. 7 here refers to the tradition that the teachers and Yoginīs once met and made Abhinavagupta the sole Ācārya and repository of the entire teaching.

यो मेलने कचन देशिकयोगिनीनाम्
अद्य प्रभृत्यखिल एष गुरुक्रमैषः ।
त्वय्येव संक्रमित इत्युपललितोऽभूत्
तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥

In Śl. 10, significant reference is made to the exposition of the nine Rasas in Abhinavagupta's Abhinava Bhārati on the Nāṭya Veda of Bharata in thirty-six Āhnikaś.

The Kathāmukhatilaka

On p. 33 of his book on Abhinavagupta, Dr. K. C. Pandey says that a work of Abhinavagupta, Kathāmukhatilaka by name, is referred to by Abhinavagupta in his I. Pra. Bṛhatī vimarśinī and that "nothing at present can be said about its contents". From this ms. work Gurunāthaparāmarśa, we are able to know that the Kathāmukhatilaka of Abhinavagupta related to vāda especially and gave an exposition of the sixteen Padārthas of the Nyāya śāstra. Śl. 9 of the Gurunāthaparāmarśa runs

ग्रन्थः कथामुखमहातिलकामिधानो
न्यायोक्तषोडशपदार्थनिरूपणाभिः ।
यो वादिनां व्यरचयद् विजयाय वादे
तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥

(1) *The Paryantapañcāśikā**A new work of Abhinavagupta*

It is however śl. 8 of this eulogy on Abhinavagupta that is most important, for it gives us the name of a new work of Abhinavagupta, the *Paryanta Pañcāśikā*

पर्यन्तसंपदुपपादनकल्पवल्ली-

पञ्चाशिका परमकारुणिकेन येन ।

प्रोक्ता निजाद्वयनये जनतां नियोक्तुं

तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥

Out of the expression 'पर्यन्तसंपदुपपादनकल्पवल्लीपञ्चाशिका,' I take 'Paryanta Pañcāśikā' as the title of the work, because Maheśvarānanda quotes in his Mahārthamañjarī a work of the name 'Paryānta Pañcāśikā' and I think it likely that Maheśvarānanda is quoting this work of Abhinavagupta mentioned in the Gurunāthparāmarśa. The Mahārthamañjarī (TSS. 66.) has four quotations from the Paryanta Pañcāśikā, which appears to be a work in Anuṣṭubh verses:

1. pp. 44-5: शुद्धिर्बहिष्कृतार्थानां स्वाहन्तायां निमज्जनम् ।

2. p. 49: अनन्तैतावदाकारस्वीकारेऽप्येकलक्षणम् ।

तां स्वसंविदमाविश्य विकल्पान्न विकल्पयेत् ॥

3. p. 70: चित्स्वाभाव्यादसौ देवः स्वात्मना विमृशन् प्रभुः ।

अनाश्रितादिभूम्यन्ता भूमिकाः प्रतिपद्यते ॥

4. pp. 72-3: तत्र वाचकवाच्यात्मस्पन्दयोरेकशः प्रभोः ।

स्थूलसूक्ष्मपराभासक्रमयोः षड्विधाध्वता ॥

(2) *The Rahasyapañcāśikā**Another new work of Abhinavagupta.*

The fourth work in this ms. is the *Rahasyapañcāśikā* of Abhinavagupta, this again a work of Abhinavagupta not known till now. The last verse says that the work is Abhinavagupta's and contains fifteen verses.

इमेऽभिनवगुप्तेन श्लोकाः पञ्चदशोदिताः ।

See MD. 15326.

But as a matter of fact, the work contains 37 verses and is mostly a hymn to Devī in a variety of metres. I do not know if another minor work (the Devībhujāṅga in the Viśva-bhārati?) has got mixed up here.

The Other Works and Authors known from this Ms.

The interest of this ms. does not stop with the new facts about Abhinavagupta's works noticed above. It reveals to us some more authors and their works pertaining to Pratyabhijñā.

The Śāstra parāmarśa

This is the second work in the ms. and mentions some of the chief works of Pratyabhijñā: Sivadr̥ṣṭi, the commentaries on it by Utpala and Abhinavagupta, Pratyabhijñā sūtra, Vṛtti and Vivṛti, both on the I. Pra. Sūtra, and the two Vimarśinīs thereon by Abhinavagupta,—all these seeming to form a unit of five works described as 'Prakaraṇa vivaraṇa pañcaka'¹. Then follow two verses praising Abhinavagupta's I. Pra. Laghu Vimarśinī, the next two, 7th and 8th, praise Utpala's Śiva-stotrāvalī and the last two verses are on Pratyabhijñā in general.

The last verse sums up the difference and distinction of the Pratyabhijñādvaita philosophy, as compared with Buddhism and Advaita Vedānta. Buddhism abolishes Ātman and Īśvara in its Vijñānādvaita, and Advaitavedānta, in its Brahmādvaita, has to resort to Anirvacanīyakhyāti and Avidyopādhi; but Pratyabhijñā (which is the heart of all Āgamas as contrasted with the Advaita Vedānta which is established on the basis of the Vedas) is suggested as overcoming the shortcomings of both Buddhism and Advaita Vedānta by its Īśvarādvaita. See MD. 15324.

Svātmapraśaṁsā

The next work in the ms. is called Svātmapraśaṁsā, a poem in 42 verses, by a Śaiva Siddha on himself and on his own supreme Siddha state. MD. 15325. The subject-author describes himself in the first as well as third person. The second verse appears to state that the subject-author was born under the constellation having Indra-Agni as deity, i.e., Viśākhā, on a Śuklatrayodaśī, Monday. It is likely that the Śivayogin mentioned in this and the next verse is his father. In verse 3, he calls himself 'Viśākhah', after the star. In the subsequent verses he sings of himself as a Siddha, Avadhūta, Yogirāja, Vīra, Bhikṣu and Jīvanmukta. In śl. 5, he mentions that even at his 74th year, he retained all the lore that he learnt from his father during boyhood; in this verse, the

1. As Dr. Pandey points out, this verse mentioning these five as the chief Pratyabhijñā texts is quoted in the *Sarvadarśana samgraha* (Anandāśrama edn. p, 100.)

name of Abhinavagupta is worked in through Śleṣa. In śl. 6 he refers to his retaining the power of sweet exposition even at his 78th year; the next verse mentions his 80th year and in this verse occurs the name Siddha Viśākha, rather in a manner difficult of understanding. Viśākha does not occur beyond this.

The name with which the author frequently describes himself is Madhurāja or Mādhura. Śl. 6, which specifies his 78th year first introduces this name, माधुरोऽहम्. In the subsequent verses, the name Madhurāja or Mādhura occurs regularly. Śl. 13 is noteworthy as praising the works of Madhurāja kavi. Śl. 29, describing himself in the first person, refers to the hereditary scholarship of his family in Yajurveda, its Lakṣaṇa and Sūtra, Pañcamakha, Mantra and Tantra and Paramādvaita.

It is not easy to determine whether Mādhura is only a variant for Madhurāja; for one of the verses here, śl. 38, describes him as roaming in his Siddhahood in the town of the Pāṇḍya king, i.e., Madhura or Madura in the South.

न यामि कस्यापि गृहं प्रतीच्छन्
नयामि सौख्येन तथापि कालम् ।
पुरीह पाण्ड्येश्वरपालितायां
निरीहचूडामणिरस्मि तस्मात् ॥

It may be that he is called Mādhura after his place Madhurā.

The complication of the name of the subject-author is not over here; for śl. 12 says:

वितृष्ण इव (ह) भूतले चरति भट्टकृष्णः कृती ।

Who is this Bhaṭṭa Kṛṣṇa? If we take the whole poem as being on one person, as it appears we should, his personal name may be Bhaṭṭakṛṣṇa, star-name Viśākha, place-name Mādhura and another name Madhurāja. I do not know if this explanation is alright. On pp. 160-161 of his thesis on Abhinavagupta, Dr. K.C. Pandey speaks of a late writer on Pratyabhijñā whom he describes as "Varadarāja alias Kṛṣṇadāsa", "youngest son of Madhurāja" and author of a Śivasūtra-vārttika. The extract given by Dr. Pandey to bear out this information about the author, his name and parentage, is however not clear in construction or import.

It is not unlikely that the subject-author of this Svātma-praśamsā is also the author of the eulogy on Abhinavagupta, the Gurunāthaparāmarśa, previously noticed.

The same codex contains some well-known works also: no. 5. Anuttaratrimśikā Text; no. 10. Śiva sūtras; no. 15. Abhinavagupta's Laghuvṛtti on the Anuttaratrimśikā of which other ms. have been noted above; no. 16. Anuttaratrimśikā-Text again; no. 17. Prabodhapañcadaśikā with Avadhūta's com; nos. 18 and 19. Avadhūta's Prātipadikārtha vimarśa and com. on it; and no. 20. Somānanda's Śivadrṣṭi.

The other works here seem to be rare: No. 7 is Svarūpa-praveśikā of Bhaṭṭa Nāga or Nāgānanda; this work has a gloss by Sivānanda and both text and gloss are represented by another ms. in the same library. See MT. 2159.¹ Nāgānanda appears also as a commentator on the Ī. Pra. Sūtra; a ms. of his com. on the Ī. Pra. Sū. is available in the Adyar Library, (Cat. II. p. 174a; 28. B. 24).

The 8th work in the ms. is an anonymous Ṣaṭtrimśat tattvacarcā.

No. 9 is Anuttaraśrīgurupaṅktiparāmarśa, a list of Pratyabhijñā teachers, taken from Somānanda's Śivadrṣṭi and supplemented. After Somānanda, the list has Utpala, Lakṣmaṇagupta, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and Śūra. Śūra is mentioned as a pupil of Kṣemarāja. The author of this list is one Deva Bhaṭṭa who describes himself as a pupil of Śūra himself:

तस्यापि शूरनामाभूत् * * *

* * * *

बहुधेत्यं शिवज्ञानमेतस्मादेव देशिकात् ॥

अर्धतिल्य देवभट्टेन प्रोक्ता सन्तानसंकथा ॥

See MD. 15330.

No. 11 is Gurupaṅktistotra, MD. 15332. After praying to gods Gaṇeśa and Kumāra, the hymn praises Durvāśas, Vasugupta, Somānanda, Utpala, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja. The hymn closes with verses on Abhinavagupta.

No. 12. is Daśaślokī of Śrī Vidyācakravarttin who has commented upon Virūpākṣa pañcāśikā also (TSS).

1. M.T.=Triennial Catalogues of the Madras Govt. Ori Mss., Library.

No. 14 is a new metrical commentary on the Anuttara trimśikā; it is anonymous, though the Madras Catalogue wrongly ascribes to Abhinavagupta. M.D. 15335. It follows the views of Utpala and the commentaries of Abhinavagupta. The author may be a southerner since reference is made to Śiva at Cidambaram (Vyāghrapura). The work cites the Yogavāsiṣṭha :

तदेतद् राघवायोक्तं वसिष्ठेन महात्मना । p. 55.

The last work in the ms., no. 21, is Bhiṣag Devarāja's Sivasūtravārttika.



TOLKĀPPIYAM

BY

DR. P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., PH. D.

iv. *Vīḷi-marap̄u*

118. விளியெனப் படுப கொள்ளும் பெயரொடு
தெளியத் தோன்று மியற்கைய வென்ப.
Vīḷi-y-ena-p paṭupa koḷḷum peyaroṭu
Teliya-t iōṇṇu m-iyarkaiya v-enpa.

They say that what is called *vīḷi* or the vocative case is of the nature of being explicitly seen in words which take a special form in the vocative case.

Note 1. The meaning of the vocative case is not mentioned here since the name *vīḷi*¹ itself suggests it.

Note 2. The expression *Koḷḷum peyaroṭu* suggests that there are certain *peyar* which do not take a special form in the vocative case.

119. அவ்வே
இவ்வென வறிதற்கு மெய்பெறக் கிளப்ப.
A-v-v-ē
Iv-v-ena v-aritarku mey-pera-k kiḷappa.

In order to understand what the words which take a special form in the vocative case are, they will be explicitly mentioned.

Note 1. Since the following sūtras explicitly mention the change which words undergo in the vocative case, I am at a loss to understand the exact need for this sūtra.

Note 2. The word *av*² denotes *vīḷi-koḷ-peyar* according to *Cēṇāvāraiyaṛ* and words in the vocative case according to *Teyvaccilaiyaṛ*. *Cēṇāvāraiyaṛ* himself condemns the latter interpretation since *avaiṭam* in the next sūtra will not suit well.

1. The root *vīḷi* means 'to call', 'to summon'.
2. *Av* and *Avai* have the same meaning.

120. அவைதாம்

இஉ ஐநு வென்னு மிறுதி
யப்பா னுன்கே யுயர்திணை மருங்கின்
மெய்ப்பொருள் சுட்டிய விளிகொள் பெயரே.
Avai-tām

I-u ai-ō v-enṇu m-iruti
y-appā nāṇkē y-uyartiṇai marunkin
mey-p-poruḷ cuṭṭiya viḷi-koḷ peyarē.

Among *uyartiṇai* nouns those which clearly undergo modification in the vocative case are those that end in the vowels *i*, *u*, *ai*, and *ō*.

Note i. The expression *Avai-tām* may be taken as a separate *adhikāra sūtra* since it has to be taken along with the *sūtra* 128 or it may be taken there by *anuvṛti*.

Note ii. Teyvaccilaiyār reads *Avarruḷ* in place of *Avaitām* in the *sūtra*.

121. அவற்றன்

இஈ யாடும் ஐயா யாகும்.

Avarruḷ

Iṭi y-ādum ai-y-ā y-ākum.

Of them nouns ending in *i* change *i* to *ī* and those ending in *ai* change it to *āy*.

Ex. *Oṇṭoṭi nāṇilaṇ ṭvaṇ* (Kalit. 61)

(Oh lady with lustrous armlets, this man has no modesty)

Teri-y-ilāy nī-yu-niṇ kīlum paṇara (Kalit. 39)

(Oh lady with nice ornaments, in order that you may join with your lover)

122. ஒவும் உவ்வும் எயொடு சிவனும்.

Ō-v-um u-v-um ē-y- oḷu civaṇum.

(Of them) nouns ending in *ō* and *ū* take *ē* after them.

Ex. *ceruppin....kōvā* (Pativru. 21)

(Oh the King of the mountain called *ceruppu* vente....
tavāliyar (Pativru 14)

(Oh King may you be free from destruction)

Note 1. The *u* referred to in this *sūtra* is *Kurṛiyalukara* which is evident from the following *sūtra*.

Note 2. *Avarruḷ* follows in this *sūtra* from *sūtra* 121.

123. உகாரம் தானே குற்றிய லுகாரம்.
Ukaran tāṇ-ē kurriya lukaram.

The 'u' referred to above is *kurriyalukaram*.

124. ஏனை யுயிரே யுயர்தினை மருங்கிற்
 ரூம்விளி கொள்ளா வென்மனார் புலவர்.
Enai y-uyir-ē y-uyartinaṭ maruṅkiṭ
Rām-viḷi kollā v-enmanār pulavar.

Learned men say that *Uyartinaṭ* nouns ending in other vowels do not undergo change in form in the vocative case.

Note. The word *uyir* in this sūtra has to be interpreted as a noun ending in an *uyir* and hence suggests the *paribhāṣā* that *final elements refer to the words having them as finals*.

125. அளபெடை மிகு உ மிகா விறுபெய
 ரியற்கைய வாகுஞ் செயற்கைய வென்ப.
Aḷapeṭai mikū m-ikara v-iṟupeya
R-iyarkaiya v-ākuñ ceyarkaiya v-enpa.

They say that the nouns having *i* as *aḷapeṭai* at the end do not change *i* to *ī* but take only 'i' after them.

Ex. toḷī i i...(Kalit. 103).

(O friend..)

Note. Iḷampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār take this sūtra to mean that words ending in *aḷapeṭai i* do not undergo any modification. But in literature we find forms like *tōḷī*. Cēṇāvaraiyar and Nacčinārkkiniyar on the other hand interpret that words ending in *ī* having three mātrās add *i* alone in the vocative case. The only mistake in the interpretation of the latter two is that they take *aḷapeṭai* to have three mātrās.

126. முறைப்பெயர் மருங்கி னையெ னிறுதி
 யாவொடு வருதற் குரியவு முனவே.
Murai-p-peyar maruṅki n-ai-y-e n-iṟuti
y-ā-v-oḷu varutar kuriya-v-u m-uḷavē.

There are some in words of relationship ending in *ai* that even change to *ā* (in place of *ā*).

Ex. Annai (Mother) Annā (Oh mother)

Note. The particle *um* suggests that there is the form *annūdy* also.

127. அன்மைச் சொல்லே யியற்கை யாகும்.
Aṇmai-c eol-l-ē y-iyarkai y-ākum.

Word in the vocative case which is used to call one near at hand undergoes no modification.

Ex. Kāṇiya vā tōlī (Kalit. 42).

(Oh friend, come to see)

Nī nīṭu vāliya neṭuntakai (Pura. 55).

(Oh King of long fame, may you live long)

Note. Though the word *aṇmai-c-col* literally means 'word at-hand,' yet it means here 'the word which is used to call one near at hand'.

128. னரலள வென்னு மந்நான் தென்ப

புள்ளி யிறுதி விளிகொள் பெயரே.

Na-ra-la-la v-eṇṇu m-a-n-nāṇ k-eṇṇa

Puḷḷi y-iruti viḷi-kol peyar-ē.

Of the words that end in consonants, only those which end in one of the four consonants *n*, *r*, *l* and *ḷ*, undergo modification in the vocative case.

Note. 1 *Avai-tām* is to be taken here from sūtra 120.

Note. 2 It is worthy of note that, later on, words ending in *ṇ* also underwent modification in the vocative case.

cf. Uṇkaṇṇāy (Kalit. 37).

(Oh lady with anointed eyes)

129. ஏனைப் புள்ளி யிறுவளி கொள்ளா.

Ēṇai-p puḷḷi y-iru-viḷi kollā.

Words ending in other consonants do not undergo change in the vocative case.

Note. This sūtra may as well be omitted since its purpose is served by the previous one.

130. அவற்றன்

அன்னெ னிறுதி யாவா கும்மே.

Avarruḷ

Aṇ-ṇ-e ṇ-iruti y-ā-v-ā kum-m-ē.

Of them those that end in *aṇ* change it to *ā*.

Ex. cēkā.. (Kalit. 22)

(Oh servant..)

131. அண்மைச் சொல்லிற் ககர மாகும்.

Aṇmai-c col-l-iṇ k-akara m-ākum.

Aṇ in *aṇmai-c-col* is changed to *a*.

Ex. Perum-paṭai-t-t-laiva (Patirru. 24).

(Oh lord of a large army)

Note. In '*vāṭuvan vāḷiya nī* (Kalit. 96) there is no modification in *vāṭuvan*.

132. ஆனெ னிறுதி யியற்கை யாகும்.

Aṇ-e n-iruti y-iyarkai y-ākum.

Words ending in *āṇ* do not undergo any change.

Ex. cēramāṇ

(Oh cēramāṇ)

133. தொழிலிற் கூறு மானெ னிறுதி

யாயா கும்மே விளிவயி னான.

Tolilir kūru m-āṇ-e n-iruti

y-āy-ā kum-m-ē viḷi-vayi n-āṇa.

Verbal and gerundial nouns ending in *āṇ* change *āṇ* to *ā* in the vocative case.

Ex. Aliyum uṭaiyōy (Pura. 2).

[Oh (king) who has mercy]

Note. *Ā* in *āy* changes to *ō* by Tol. col. 195.

134. பண்புகொள் பெயரு மதனோ ரற்றே.

Paṇṇu-kolḷ peyar-u m-atanō r-arṛē.

Words denoting quality also are of the same nature.

Ex. Neytalaṅkāṇal neṭiyōy (Pura. 10).

(Oh king of long decent at the place Neytalaṅkāṇal.)

135. அளபெடைப் பெயரே யளபெடை யியல.

Aḷapeṭai-p peyar-ē y-aḷapeṭai y-iyala.

Words having *aḷapeṭai* before the final *ṇ* are of the same nature as words ending in *aḷapeṭai i*.

Ex. Alāaṇ

136. முறைப்பெயர்க் கிளவி யேயொடு ஒருமே.

Murai-p-peyar-k kiḷavi y-ē-y-oḷu varum-ē.

Words of relationship ending in *ṇ* take *ē* after them.

Ex. Yāvo v-āyiṇa m-āaṇ makaṇē (Kalit. 20).

137. தானென் பெயருஞ் சுட்டுமுதற் பெயரும்
யானென் பெயரும் வினாவின் பெயரு
மன்றி யனைத்தும் விளிகோ எலிலவே.
Tān-en peyar-uñ cuṭṭu-mutar peyar-um
yān-en peyar-um viṇā-v-iṇ peyaru
m-aṇṇi y-aṇaittum viḷi-kō i-ila-v-ē.

The pronouns tān, avan, ivan, uvan, yān, yāvan etc., do not take the vocative case.

138. ஒரு மருவு மீரோடு சிவனும்.
Ār-u m-ar-uṣu m-īr-oṭu civaṇum.

Words ending in *ār* and *ar* change to *īr*.

Ex. Peṇṭir-um piṇi-y-uṭaiy-īrum. . num araṇ cērmiṇ (Pura 9.)

(Oh women and those who are ill retire to your place of safety)

Porṇumiṇ maṇavīr (Pura. 104).

(Oh brave warriors, protect)

Note. In 'pāṇar kāṇkivaṇ kaṭumpinātiṭumpai (Pura. 173. Pāṇar undergoes no modification in the vocative case.

139. தொழிற்பெய ராயி னேகாரம் வருதலும்
வழுக்கின் நென்மனார் வயங்கி யோரே.
Toḷir-peya r-āyi n-ēkāram varutalum
valukkiṇ r-eṇmaṇār vayanṅki yōrē.

Those who know the usage say that it is not wrong if verbal and gerundial nouns take *ē* also in addition to the modification mentioned in the previous sūtra.

Ex. ciṟu-kuṭi-y īre...(Kalit. 39).

(Oh citizens of small hamlets...)

140. பண்புகொள் பெயரு மதனோ ரந்தே.
Paṇṇu-kol peyar-u m-ataṇō rarrē.

Words denoting quality also are of the same nature.

Ex. Pal-cāṇṇirē. . (Pura. 195).

(Oh men of many qualities .)

141. அளபெடைப் பெயரே யளபெடை யியல.
Aḷapeṭai-p peyarē y-aḷapeṭai y-iyala.

Words ending in *r* and preceded by *aḷapeṭai* are of the same nature as nouns having *aḷapeṭai* mentioned before.

Ex. ciṛāar. . (Pura. 29).

(Oh young men)

142. சுட்டுமுதற் பெயரே முற்றினந் தன்ன.

Cuṭṭu-mutar peyarē mur-kḷḷan taṇṇa.

Demonstrative pronouns ending in *r* are of the nature of demonstrative pronouns ending in *n* mentioned above (i.e.) they do not take vocative case.

143. தம்மின் திரிபெயர் வினாவின் பெயரென்

நம்முறை பிரண்டு மவற்றியல் பியலும்.

Num-m-in tiri peyar viṇṭu-viṇṭa-r-in peyar-eṇ

r-a-m murai y iraṇṭu m-avarriyal p-iyalum.

Niyar, the modified form of *num* and interrogative pronouns ending in *r* are of the same nature.

Note. *Niyir* is said to be the modified form of *num* in *alvali-p-punarcci cf. Tol. Elut.*

144. எஞ்சிய விசண்டி. னிறுதிப் பெயரே

நின்ற வீற்றய னீட்டம் வேண்டும்.

Eñciya v-iraṇṭi n-iruti-p peyar-ē

niṇṭa v-irraya nīṭṭam v-ēṇṭum.

Nouns ending in the other two (i.e.) *l* and *ḷ* have their penultimate vowel lengthened.

Ex. Oṇṇutal namakku avar varutum (Kalit. 35).

(Oh lady with lustrous forehead, he will come to us.)

Vayamān rōṇral (Pura. 44) and Tiṇṭēraṇṇal in Pura. 198.

Note. *Kuricil* in Pura. are used without lengthening the penultimate vowel.

145. அயனெடி தாயி னியற்கை யாகும்.

Ayaṇeṭi tāyi n-iyarkaḷ y-āḷum.

If the penultimate is long, they undergo no change.

Ex. Maṇṭamar aṭṭa mataṇṭai nōṇṛāl. (Pura. 213)

(Oh king of wonderful effort and strength so as to win in a strong fight)

Note. There is *aḷapeṭai* in the vocative *puli kaṭi māḷ* in Pura. 201.

146. வினையினும் பண்பினு

நினையத் தோன்று மானெ னிறுதி

யாயா கும்மே வினிவழி னுன.

Vinai-y in um paṇṇinu
Ninaiya-t tōṇru m-āḷ-e-ū iruti
y-āy-ā kum-m-ē viḷi vayi n-āṇa.

Verbal and participial nouns denoting quality ending in *āḷ* change *āḷ* to *āy* in the vocative case.

Ex. Ilaiyōy kilaiyai maṇ-ṇ-eṅkēḷ veyyōṛku. (Pura. 144)

(Oh young lady, are you related to him who is eager of our friendship?)

147. முறைப்பெயர்க் கிளவி முறைப்பெய ரியல.

Murai-p peyar-k kilavi murai-p-peya r-iyala.

Words denoting relationship ending in *ḷ* are of the same nature as those ending in *n*.

Ex. makaḷē vā.

Note. The word *vēḷ* has taken *ē* after it in Pura. 201 in analogy with words of relationship.

148. சுட்டுமுதற் பெயரும் வினாவின் பெயரு

முற்கிளந் தன்ன வென்மனார் புலவர்.

Cuṭṭu-mutar peyar-um viṇū-v-iṇ peyar-u
mur-kilān t-anna v-eṇmanār pulavar.

Learned men say that demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns ending in *ḷ* are of the same nature as those mentioned above; (*i.e.*) they do not take vocative case.

149. அளபெடைப் பெயரோ யளபெடை யியல.

Aḷapeṭai-p peyar-ē y-aḷapeṭai y-iyala.

Words ending in *ḷ* preceded by *aḷapeṭai* are of the same nature as those which end in *n* and *r* preceded by *aḷapeṭai*

Ex. valam puri-t taṭakkai māal

(Oh Viṣṇu having conch in your hand)

Mēvār t-tolaitta varaṇ miku vēl

(Oh vēl with great valour who has routed the enemies.)

Note. Considering *vātuvāṇ Pāṇar*, *Kuricil*, *tōṇral* as vocative case without any modification in form, I am led to believe that there might have been here a sūtra 'Aṇmai c collē y iyaṛkai y ākum' similar to sūtra 127 to apply for nouns ending in consonants.

150. கிளந்த விறுதி யகறிணை விரவுப்பெயர்

வினம்பிய தெரிய விளிக்குங் காலை.

Kiḷanta v iruti y a.riṇai viravu p peyar
Viḷampiya neriya viḷikkun kālai.

Nouns common to *uyartiṇai* and *a.riṇai* ending in the four vowels and consonants mentioned above undergo the same modification in the vocative case when they are used in *a.riṇai*.

Ex. Cāttā, Cāttī, Kuruṭā, Kuruṭī etc.

151. புள்ளிய முயிரு மிறுதி யாகிய
 வகிறிணை மருங்கி னெல்லாப் பெயரும்
 விளிகிலை பெறுஉங் காலந் தோன்றிற்
 நெளிகிலை யுடைய வேகாரம் வரலே.
Puḷḷi y u m iyir u m iruti y ākiya
V a.riṇai maruṅki n elli p peyar un
Viḷi nilai perūun Kālam tōṇṇir
Reḷi nilai y uṭaiya v ēkāram varal ē.

All nouns in *a.riṇai* consonants and vowels take *ē* after them in the vocative case. *Ōāyirē en keḷvaṇ yāṅku uḷaṇ āyinuṁ kāṭṭimē* (Kalit. 147).

(Oh sun, will you not show me my lover wherever he is?)

Ex. Vāli y eṇ puṇarnta pālē. (Pura. 176).

(Oh my fate! may you prosper!)

Evvaḷi nallavar āṭavar, avvaḷi nallai vāliya nilaṇē (Pura. 187)

(Oh earth! may you prosper since you are good because people there are good)

Note. Expressions like '*Elu v iṇi neṇcam*' in Pura. 207 show that sometimes even *a.riṇai* nouns undergo no modification in vocative case.

152. உளவெனப் பட்ட வெல்லாப் பெயரு
 மளபிறந் தனவே விளிக்குங் காலந்
 சேய்மையி னிசைக்கும் வழக்கத் தான.
Uḷa v eṇa p paṭṭa v ellā p peyaru
M aḷap iran tāṇa v ē viḷikkiṇ k ālai c
Cēymai y i i caikkum vaḷakkat tāṇa.

All the nouns which are said to undergo modification in the vocative case increase the quantity of the vowels when they are used to summon persons or objects at a distance.

Ex. Nari kātaler varuvar kol vayankiḷāy (Kalit. 11).

(Will my lover return, oh friend with shining ornaments)
cuṭar t toṭṭi kēḷāy (Kalit. 30.)

(Oh lady with shining ornaments, listen)

153. அம்ம வென்னு மசைச்சொன் னீட்ட
மம்முறைப் பெயரோடு சிவனு தாயினும்
விளியொடு கொள்ப தெனியு மோரே.
Amma v ennu m acai c con ṇiṭṭa
M a m murai p peyarotu civaṇā tāyinum
Viḷi y oṭu koḷpa teḷiyu m ōrē.

Scholars take that the word *amma* used to draw the attention of the hearer, takes the vocative case and lengthens its final though it is not included among words of relationship.

Ex. Nakaiyiṇ mikkataṇ kāmamum onṇenpa v amṁā (Kalit. 147).

154. தநு என்ன வவைமுத லாகித்
தன்மை குறித்த னாளவெ னிறுதியு
மன்ன பிறவும் பெயர்நிலை வரினே
யின்மை வேண்டும் விளியொடு கொள்ளே.
Ta na nu e eṇa vaṇava muta l āki t
Taṇmai kuṛitta ṇa ra ḷa v e ṇ iṛutiya
M aṇṇa pira v um peyar nilai varin ē
Y inmai vēṇṭum viḷi y oṭu koḷal ē.

Words commencing with *t*, *n*, and *nu* and ending in *ṇ*, *r* and *l* and denoting relationship and those of the same nature, do not take vocative case.

Note. Such words are *tamaṇ*, *tamaḷ*, *tamar*, *namaṇ*, *namaḷ*, *namar*, *numaṇ*, *numaḷ*, *numar*, *emaṇ*, *emaḷ* *emar* etc.

Viḷi marapiyal ends.





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